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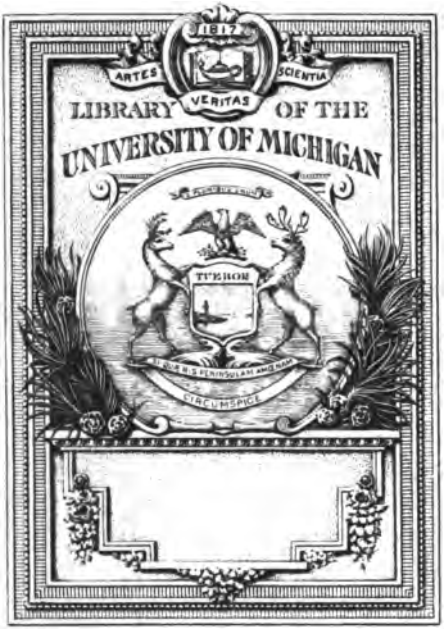

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Ralph, James

THE

Other Side of the QUESTION:

OR, AN

ATTEMPT

To Reſcue the

CHARACTERS

Of the Two ROYAL SISTERS

Q. *MARY* and Q. *ANNE*,

Out of the Hands of the

D---s D----- of ——— --—.

IN WHICH

All the REMARKABLES in her Grace's late Account are ſtated in their full Strength, and as fully anſwer'd; the Conduct of Several Noble Perſons is juſtify'd; and all the neceſſary Lights are thrown on our COURT-HISTORY from the Revolution, to the Change of the Miniſtry in 1710.

In a LETTER to Her GRACE.

By a WOMAN of QUALITY. by Ralph.

He that is firſt in his own Cauſe ſeemeth juſt, but his Neighbour cometh and ſearcheth him. SOLOMON.

LONDON:

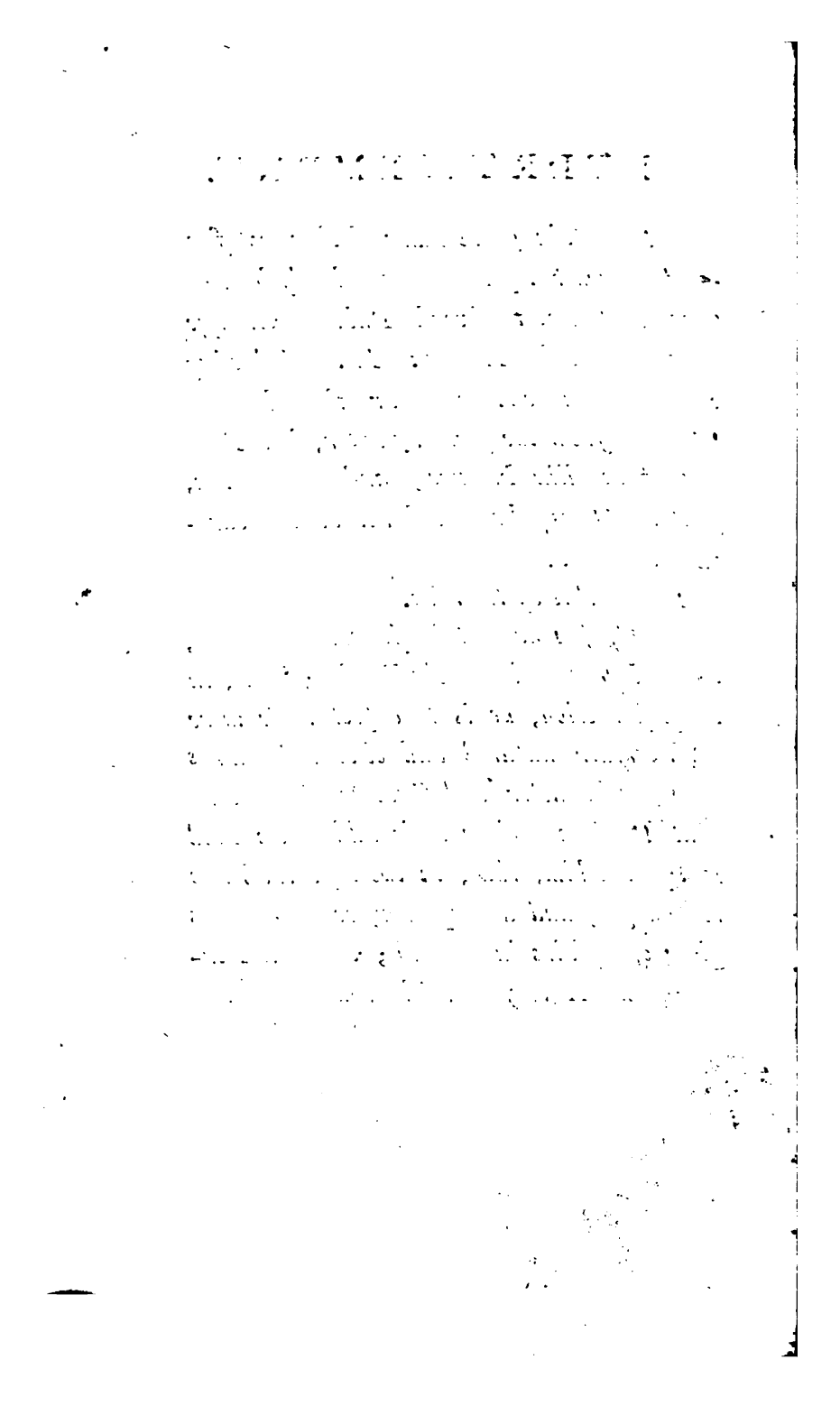
Printed for T. COOPER, at the *Globe* in *Pater-noſter-Row.* 1742.

ADVERTISEMENT.

A Certain great Lady, living not far from St. James's, *hath lately been at great Expence, to give the Public a Glimpſe of a very faulty Edifice: In the following Piece it will be made appear, that the Book ſet forth from the ſame Quarter, is a Project of the like Nature; and conſequently, that it expoſes what could not be too carefully concealed.*

But of this by the Way.

The chief Ends of this Advertiſement are, to put in a Caution to the Reader; That, in the firſt Section, he is to expect little more than certain natural and obvious Remarks on the Character and Conduct of the eminent Perſon to whom it is addreſs'd: And to apprize him, that, in the laſt, the View is enlarg'd, and a comprehenſive Draught is given of Affairs in general; which no Portion of our Hiſtory deſerv'd, or wanted more.



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THE *Other Side of the Queſtion.* IN A LETTER TO Her GRACE the Dowager Ducheſs OF * * * * * *

MADAM,

AS your Grace ſtill ſeems to retain that Fire which render'd you ſo conſpicuous in Power, and ſo impatient on being *turned out*, I make no queſtion but you will denounce it an unpardonable Preſumption in any nameleſs Writer, of whatever Sex or Rank, to ſhew more Concern for the Character of the late excellent

A Queen

Queen *Anne*, your once Royal Miſtreſs, and her no leſs excellent Siſter Q. *Mary*, than yours; and eſpecially to do Juſtice to their injured Memories, at your Grace's Expence.

But, Madam, before you ſuffer your Reſentments to tranſport you too far, be pleaſed to take into Conſideration, that Authorſhip, as well as Love, ſets all Mankind on a Level; and that whoever draws a Pen is as liable to be called to an Account for the Uſe made of it, as he that draws a Sword.

The Laws of Criticiſm, as well as thoſe of Equity, have made no Exceptions in favour of Titles, Wealth, and Power; and I intend to employ both ſo conſcientiouſly, that I may be able to finiſh my Work with that celebrated Sentence of your Grace's: *All this I know to be true.*

Your Grace has repreſented Fame, even after Life, as a real Good; and been at ſome Pains to eſtabliſh your own, as the nobleſt Monument. Both the Deſign, and the Sentiment on which it is founded, are far from blameable: But the World will by no means be perſuaded to endure, that you ſhould ſet

up

up your own Statue in the Place of hers, who *raiſed you out of the Duſt*, if I may be allowed to borrow a pointed Phraſe of your own; and without whom, 'tis more than poſſible, Poſterity would never have known that ſuch a Perſon as your Grace, a Daughter of Mrs. *Jennings*, ever had a Being.

Perhaps, Madam, you may think it worth your while to proteſt that this was never your Intention; and Charity may induce us to believe that your Treſpaſs was not owing to premeditated Malice. But Vanity is a moſt ſeducing Guide, and your Grace has ſlid, I hope inſenſibly, into a Fault, which it may be equally hard to acknowledge, or excuſe.

* *This makes dear Self on well-bred Tongues prevail,*
And I the little Hero of each Tale,

ſays the Satiriſt. 'Tis a ſhrewd Remark, and occurs to Mind in almoſt every Paragraph of your Grace's notable Performance; in which Mrs. *Freeman* is every where the Heroine, and poor Mrs. *Morley* no better

* *Young's* Univerſal Paſſion.

than a Foil to ſet her off to the more Advantage.

Fond, therefore, as your Grace has declared yourſelf to be of Fame, that Fondneſs ſhould not have miſled you to treſpaſs on the Bounds of Decorum: Nor had you ſucceeded worſe, if you had recollected, when you firſt ſet out in ſearch of that infatuating Goddeſs, that according to the ingenious, tho' plain-dealing Antients, the right Road lay through the Temple of Virtue, of which GRATITUDE is the Corner-Stone.

To blow one's own Trumpet carries with it a very mortifying Inſinuation; and thoſe who do, tho' they tickle their own Ears, only inſult other People's. A Perſon of your Grace's incredible Opulency, could be under no Neceſſity to become your own Advocate. Had your *good Works* been *viſible*, you could not have failed of *Glory*. Thoſe of the Great cannot eſcape Notice, cannot want Acknowledgments, cannot miſs of Applauſe: In that Caſe, you need not have followed Fame; for Fame would have taken a Pride to follow you.

But

But with whatever Zeal I am led to do Juſtice to the Aſhes of the Dead, I propoſe to do no Violence to the Character of the Living. Your Grace ſhall not be arraign'd without Reaſon, nor condemned without Proof: To ſupport every Article advanced under the Head of Vanity, in particular, I ſhall make uſe of your own Words; and in that Caſe there will be no need of any farther Evidence.

You muſt give me Leave, Madam, to add, that the Public has been long put in Expection of this Production of yours; and, as it was feared it would be poſthumous, many Perſons were almoſt as impatient to ſee your Grace in the Hands of the College, that they might have the Pleaſure of reading your Works, as if they had been Heirs to your immenſe Riches.

But then they expected a Hiſtory of your own Times, not an Apology for your own Conduct: they expected many important Secrets would have been brought to Light: That, eſpecially, no Conſideration whatever, would

have prevailed with you to ſtifle *(a) all you knew* relating to that BIRTH, which has been ſo often repreſented as an Impoſture, tho' never proved to be one. In Juſtice and Gratitude to the Father, to whom your Lord ow'd ſo much: In Juſtice and Gratitude to the People, of whoſe Liberality *Blenheim* is like to be an almoſt eternal Monument, they imagined you *ought* to have ſtated the *whole Affair*, with all the Clearneſs it would admit of: That either no Pretence might have been left to keep alive two Viper-like Factions, which feed on the Vitals of their Country; or that the real Reaſons might be known, which induced the *Revolution-Patriots* to connive at ſo infamous a Calumny, and viſit the Iniquities of the Father on his innocent Poſterity.

All this, however, your Grace has thought fit to leave as you found it; like Eternity covered

(a) Lady *Churchill* was then of the Bed-Chamber to the Princeſs of *Denmark*, and brought her the News of the ——'s Delivery; on which Occaſion many remarkable Pleaſantries, for which her Highneſs had a paſſionate Fondneſs, paſſed between them.

covered with Darkneſs and Perplexity: In which however it muſt be acknowledged, you have played the Politician; and by not interfering with our Difficulties, have very effectually avoided any Addition to your own.

I ſhall cloſe my Introduction, Madam, with obſerving that our preſent incomparable Laureat, a *(a)* profeſſed Admirer of your Grace, was the firſt *Apologiſt* in Form for his own Life, who has appear'd in our Times: That his hopeful Son, as I am informed, did himſelf the Honour of treading, ſoon after, on his Father's Heels: That your Grace is the Third in this remarkable Liſt; and that if the *(b) eminent* Perſon your Grace has ſo happily diſtinguiſh'd by his *inſtinctive Averſion* to *Accounting* was to do the ſame, this *(c) Table of Fame* might be ſuppoſed to be full, and that there would ſcarce be Room for any future Candidate.

Your Grace has given us to underſtand, that your Aſcendancy over your Royal

(a) Vide Cibber's Apology.
(b) Account, Page 5.
(c) See *Tatler*.

Miſtreſs had its Foundation almoſt in your *Infancy*, tho' by what *Accident* you *happen'd* to *fall* in her Way, you have not thought proper to explain: That ſhe ever took a Delight to honour you.: That your firſt Preferment to her Service was at her own *earneſt Requeſt*. And that her Court was ſo oddly compoſed, that 'it was mak-'ing yourſelf no great Compliment to ſay, 'her chuſing to ſpend more Time with you 'than any of her other Servants, was no 'Diſcredit to her TASTE," though you had never *read*, as you afterwards inform us, though you had devoted all your Leiſure Hours to *Cards*, and Lady *Clarendon* was, at leaſt, qualify'd to *talk like a Scholar*, though ſhe *look'd like a Madwoman*, as you are pleaſed to tell us, archly enough.

I ſhall make no other Remark on theſe minute Particulars, than this; *viz.* That either your Grace has been rather too partial to your own Excellencies, or it muſt be allowed the Princeſs had both a diſcerning Eye and a well-diſpoſed Heart; ſince ſhe could

could both find out, and enter into Friendſhip with the moſt amiable, and accompliſhed Perſon in her Court.

Your Grace proceeds. 'Be that as it will, 'it is certain ſhe at length diſtinguiſhed me 'by ſo high a Place in her Favour, as per-'haps no Perſon ever arrived at a higher with 'Queen or Princeſs. And, if from hence 'I may draw any Glory, it is, that I both 'obtained and held this Place without the 'Aſſiſtance of Flattery; a Charm, which in 'Truth her Inclination for me, together '*with my unwearied Application to ſerve 'and amuſe her*, rendered needleſs; but 'which, had it been otherwiſe, my Temper 'and Turn of Mind would never have ſuf-'fer'd me to employ.

Your Grace farther adds, certain other Flouriſhes on your Abhorrence of Flattery; which, in my humble Opinion, are not ſo concluſive on that Head as you ſeem to imagine. Flattery does not always imply fulſome Praiſes and ſlaviſh Compliances; none but the groſſeſt Appetites can ſwallow ſuch coarſe Food: There is a Species of a much more

refined and dangerous Nature, which never appears in its own Shape, but makes its Approaches in ſo happy a Diſguiſe, as to be miſtaken for Truth, Simplicity, and Plain-Dealing. Your Grace had Diſcernment enough to find that the Princeſs had an Averſion to the firſt; ſo, very adroitly, made uſe of the laſt; and, as you confeſs yourſelf, found your Account in it.

This puts me in mind of a Paſſage in SHAKESPEAR's *Julius Cæſar*, which your Grace muſt give me Leave to tranſcribe.

He [Cæſar] *loves to hear,*
That Unicorns may be betray'd with Trees,
And Bears with Glaſſes, Elephants with Holes,
Lions with Toils, and Men with Flatterers.
But when I tell him he hates Flatterers;
He ſays he does, being then MOST *flatter'd.*

The Words *unwonted Application to ſerve and* AMUSE *her*, p. 11, moreover ſeem to inſinuate, that a Perſon, who has filled a Book with her own Praiſes, could, upon Occaſion,

go

go out of the rough Road, and lead her Miſtreſs thro' the Carpet-Ground, ſhe loved ſo well to wander over herſelf.

But Flattery, Madam, is what you never happened to be accuſed of, nor of temporiſing with the Humours of your Royal Patroneſs.--The Peccadillos you have been ſuppoſed anſwerable for, are of a quite contrary Claſs; of playing the Tyrant with your Sovereign, of inſiſting on your own Will in Oppoſition to hers, and of carrying your own Points with a high Hand, almoſt whether ſhe would or not.

Whether, Madam, you are juſtly charged or not with theſe Trifles, will appear better by the Sequel: But certainly, 'tis not a little ſurpriſing your Grace ſhould totally forget, that ever ſuch a Bill was brought againſt you; eſpecially ſince it is laid in the Name of half the Kingdom, and more than half believ'd, tho' for Party-Reaſons not acknowledged, by the reſt.

Give me Leave, Madam, in this Place to quote a Paſſage or two, from a Sort of Prefatory Letter to the *Examiner*.

' Inſtead

'Inſtead of the mild Influences of a gra-
'cious Queen governing by Law, we ſoon
'felt the miſerable Conſequences of Subjec-
'tion to the Will of an arbitrary Junto,
'and to the Caprice of an inſolent Woman.

'Unhappy Nation! which expecting to
'be governed by the beſt, fell under the
'Tyranny of the worſt of her Sex. But
'now, thanks be to *God*, that Fury who
'broke looſe to execute the Vengeance of
'Heaven on a ſinful People is reſtrain'd;
'and the Royal Hand is already reached
'out to chain up the Plague.

Again in another Place of the ſame Let-
ters.

'Their firſt Attempt, was to take that
'Privilege from her, which the meaneſt of
'her Subjects enjoy, and Slavery was to
'purſue her even into her *Bed-Chamber*.

I do not preſume, Madam, to make any Application: But 'tis nevertheleſs my humble Opinion, that your Grace's beſt Friends would have found more Satisfaction in your Performance, if you had condeſcended to bring the Articles under this Head to *Account*;

or

or made it appear they were without Foundation.

I cannot avoid tranſcribing the two following Paſſages entire; becauſe the laſt eſpecially, is merely Hiſtorical; and, tho' manifeſtly calculated by your Grace, only to give your Readers yet higher Ideas of your own Importance, ſerves notwithſtanding to prove, that for Delicacy of Sentiment, the Princeſs of *Denmark* was ſcarce to be parallel'd by any of the Heroines of Romance; of whoſe Perfections, it muſt be preſum'd, her Highneſs was, at this Time, particularly fond.

'Kings and Princes, for the moſt Part, 'imagine they have a Dignity peculiar to 'their Birth and Station, which ought to 'raiſe them above all Connexion of Friend-'ſhip with an Inferior. Their Paſſion is to 'be admired and feared, to have Subjects 'awfully obedient, and Servants blindly ob-'ſequious to their Pleaſure. Friendſhip is 'an offenſive Word; it imports a Kind of 'Equality between the Parties; it ſuggeſts 'nothing to the Mind of Crowns or Thrones,

'high

'high Titles, or immenſe Revenues, Foun-
'tains of Honour, or Fountains of Riches,
'Prerogatives which the Poſſeſſors would
'have always uppermoſt in the Thoughts of
'thoſe who are permitted to approach them.

'The Princeſs had a different Taſte. A
'Friend was what ſhe moſt coveted; and
'for the Sake of Friendſhip (a Relation
'which ſhe did not diſdain to have with
'me) ſhe was fond even of that *Equality*
'which ſhe thought belonged to it. She
'grew uneaſy to be treated by me with the
'Form and Ceremony due to her Rank;
'nor could ſhe bear from me the Sound
'of Words which implied in them Diſtance
'and Superiority. It was this Turn of Mind,
'which made her one Day propoſe to me,
'that whenever I ſhould happen to be ab-
'ſent from her, we might in all our Letters
'write ourſelves by feigned Names, ſuch
'as would import nothing of Diſtinction
'of Rank between us. *Morley* and *Free-*
'man were the Names her Fancy hit
'upon; and ſhe left me to chuſe by which
'of them I would be called. My frank,

'and

'and open Temper naturally led me to 'pitch upon *Freeman*, and ſo the Princeſs 'took the other; and from this Time Mrs. *Morley* and Mrs. *Freeman* began to converſe as Equals, made ſo by Affection and 'Friendſhip. *Account*, p. 13, 14, 15.

And here, to let your Grace ſee that I am a fair Critic, and that I have no Quarrel to your Wit and Humour, however I may differ from you in other Reſpects, I ſhall acknowledge your Picture of ſuch as are but too generally Court-Chaplains, is taken from the Life, as are all the other maſterly Sketches you are pleaſed to favour us with; to which I ſhall do equal Juſtice as they fall in my Way. 'The Chaplains about her [the Princeſs] were ſuch Divines as could have ſaid 'but little in Defence of their own Religion, or to ſecure her againſt the Pretences of Popery, recommended to her by a 'Father and a King. *Ib.* p. 16.

What follows, for two or three Pages, relates to the Revolution: Nor is there any thing more aſtoniſhing in that grand Event, than that both the Prince of *Denmark* and

Lord *Churchill* ſhould deſert King *James*, and go over to the Prince of *Orange*, without any previous Conſultation with, or Notice given to their Ladies, tho' then in the Power, and almoſt at the Mercy of an offended Sovereign and Father; and that the Princeſs's Eſcape ſhould depend on a Note, nameleſs as far as it appears, directed to Lady *Churchill*, and the precipitate Meaſures taken thereon with an abſconding Biſhop, who was as much in Danger as thoſe he undertook to deliver. All which your Grace is pleaſed to inſinuate, and no doubt expect the World to believe.

But alas, Madam! the World has loſt much of its antient Complaiſance; and an Author, of whatever Sex or Quality, muſt write with Probability at leaſt, if they hope to obtain Credit. It has never been diſputed that the Prince of *Orange* was invited over; nay ſuch an Invitation is actually extant, under the Title of a *Memorial* to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*. Nor is it to be imagined, that a Perſon of his Highneſs's Prudence and Sagacity would have ventured on ſuch

ſuch an Enterprize, unleſs he had firſt conſulted both the Prince of *Denmark* and Lord *Churchill*; nay, perhaps, unleſs he had firſt ſeen their Hands and Seals at the Bottom of the ſaid Memorial: Which being allowed, we can ſcarce avoid concluding, that both the Princeſs and Lady *Churchill* were in the Secret, and that the *Eſcape* was not ſo much a Piece of * Chance-medley-Work, as it has been repreſented.

But no Body is more a Miſtreſs of the Art of *Surpriſing* than your Grace; as is demonſtrable from what follows.

'It was evident to all the World, that as 'Things were carried on by King *James*, 'every body ſooner or later muſt be ruin'd, 'who would not become a *Roman* Catho-'lick. This Conſideration made me very 'well pleaſed at the Prince of *Orange*'s un-'dertaking to reſcue us from ſuch Slavery. 'But I do ſolemnly proteſt, that, if there be 'Truth in any Mortal, I was ſo very ſimple

* This is confirmed by *Burnet*, who aſſerts, that Admiral *Ruſſel* had actually carried Meſſages between the Prince of *Orange* and Lord *Churchill*.

'a Creature, that I never once dreamt of 'his being King. Having never *read*, nor 'employed my time in any thing but play-'ing at Cards; and having no AMBITION 'myſelf, I imagined that the Prince of '*Orange*'s ſole Deſign was to provide for 'the Safety of his own Country, by oblig-'ing King *James* to keep the Laws of Ours; 'and that he would go back as ſoon as he 'had made us all happy; that there was 'no ſort of Difficulty in the Execution of 'this Deſign, and that to do ſo much Good 'would be a greater Pleaſure to him than to 'be King of any Country upon Earth.'

What a noble Specimen have we here of the *Marvel'ous?* what ſtriking Images ſurround us on every Side? a Court-Lady govern'd only by Scruples in Religion! a Favourite intent on nothing but Cards! and Lady *Churchill* perſuaded that State-meaſures had no other Spring than the public Good!

But, it ſeems your Grace did not continue long in theſe Court-Hereſies. Your Words are, *I was ſoon taught to know the World better.*

better. And very ſoon indeed your Converſion muſt have taken Place; for King *James* had no ſooner been frightened into *France* by our *Deliverer*, but we find you an active Agent in ſettling the Throne, and the Princeſs ſubmitting her Intereſt in it to your Influence, if not Direction, as a Perſon every way qualified to govern her in all Things. The whole Paragraph runs thus:

'It was inſinuated, that, to make my 'Court to the King and Queen, I had *influ-* '*enced* the Princeſs to forego her undoubted 'Rights. The Truth is, I did *perſuade* her 'to conſent to the Project of that Settlement, 'and to be *eaſy* under it, after it was made. 'But no regard to the King or Queen, nor 'any View of AMBITION, had the leaſt Share 'in moving me to this Conduct, any more 'than to what inconſiderable Part I acted in 'the Buſineſs of the Revolution.'

Your Grace has here followed the Example of thoſe Firſt-rate Authors, who hint more than they expreſs. It was not *Ambition*, it was not *Regard* to the King or

Queen, that induced you to act in this Manner. - - - -

What then? why every Reader is left to fill up the Blank as he pleases; and 'tis not till *Page* 22. that we find it to be first *Patriotism*, or for the sake of the *Public Welfare*, *that your Grace at first took a great deal of Pains to* PROMOTE *your Mistress's Pretensions.* And then *Necessity*; *for the Settlement would have been thus carried in Parliament whether the Princess consented to it or no.*

I cannot take Leave of this Page (22.) without transcribing the first remarkable Token of your Grace's Good-will to our *Great Deliverer*, which needs no Comment.

'I might, perhaps, wish it (*the Revolu-*
'*tion*) had been compassed by some other
'Man who had more Honour and Justice
'than he, who could depose his Father-in-
'law, and Uncle, to maintain *Liberty* and
'*Laws*, and then act the *Tyrant* himself in
'many Instances.'

But

But I have ſaid Mrs. *Freeman* is the Heroine of your Grace's Drama, and that poor Mrs. *Morley* is forced to take up with an Under-part. Be pleaſed, Madam, only to read the following Paſſage without Prejudice, if poſſible, and be yourſelf the Judge, whether that Aſſertion is well founded, or not.

'*I* confeſs, had I been in her Place, I 'ſhould have thought it more for my Ho-'nour to be eaſy in this Matter, than to ſhew 'an *Impatience* to get Poſſeſſion of a Crown 'that had been *wreſted* from my Father. 'And, as it ought to have been a great Trouble 'to the Children of King *James* to be forced 'to act the Part they did againſt him, even 'for the Security of Liberty and Religion, '(which was truly the Caſe) ſo it ſeemed to 'me, that ſhe, who diſcovered the leſs Am-'bition, would have the more amiable Cha-'racter. However, as *I* was fearful about 'every thing the Princeſs did, while ſhe was 'thought to be adviſed by me, I could not 'ſatisfy my own Mind, till I had conſulted 'with ſeveral Perſons of undiſputed Wiſ-

'dom and Integrity, and particularly with the 'Lady *Ruſſell* of *Southampton*-Houſe, and 'Dr. *Tillotſon*, afterwards Archbiſhop of '*Canterbury*. I found them all unanimous 'in the Opinion of the *Expediency of the* 'Settlement propoſed, *as things were then ſi-* 'tuated. In Concluſion, therefore, *I* carried 'Dr. *Tillotſon* to the Princeſs, and, *upon* 'what he ſaid to her, ſhe took care that no 'Diſturbance ſhould be made by her pre- 'tended Friends, the Jacobites; who had 'preſs'd her earneſtly *(as your Grace* AT 'FIRST *had done)* to form an Oppoſition.'

The Princeſs is here charged with ſuch Impatience to plume herſelf with the Spoils of her Father, that Lady *Churchill, having alter'd her Mind,* is forced to preſs the Church into the Service, in order to prevail with her to deſiſt from her unnatutural Pretenſions: And how well this almoſt ungovernable Ambition tallies with the reſt of her Highneſs's Conduct, as pictured by your Grace, will be ſufficiently explain'd, when we come to examine thoſe

oppoſite

oppoſite Features, which are here made a Part of the ſame Character.

We come now to the memorable Quarrel, as your Grace calls it, between the two Siſters, which you found principally, tho' not entirely, on the Queen's Command, and the Princeſs's Refuſal, *to remove you from about her Perſon*, and then proceed thus.

'But no one, *I* think, can be ſo fooliſh as 'to imagine that the Queen's Diſlike of me 'was only on account of my being the Wife 'of Lord *Marlborough*, who HAPPENED '*then to be in Diſgrace with the King.*'

Other Politicians, when they have commenc'd Authors, have indefatigably followed the Thread of every State-meaſure, to the inmoſt Receſſes of the Cabinet: But, on the contrary, according to your Grace's Syſtem, Chance governs all, and Deſign is out of the Queſtion. Thus the Princeſs's Flight to *Nottingham* was *ſudden* and *unconcerted*, and now Lord *Churchill* HAPPENED *to be in Diſgrace*: An Expreſſion which you are ſo fond of, that in *Page* 55. you repeat it again.

But of this *fortuitous Disgrace* of his Lordſhip, we ſhall have occaſion to treat more at large by and by.

At preſent, Madam, it is our Buſineſs to obſerve, that your Grace goes a little out of your Way, to diſcharge your Gall on the Memory of GOOD QUEEN MARY (for ſo ſhe was ſtil'd by the Voice of the People) whoſe only Crime ſeems to have been, her not having the ſame Prejudices in your Favour, which rendered you ſo dear to the Princeſs of *Denmark*.

Your Charge againſt her, is, *That* SHE WANTED BOWELS; in ſupport of which you furniſh us with the following curious Anecdote.

'I was one of thoſe who had the Ho-
'nour to wait on her to her own Apart-
'ment. She ran about it, looking into
'every Cloſet and *Conveniency*, and turn-
'ing up the Quilts upon the Bed, as People
'do when they come into an Inn, and with
'no other ſort of Concern in her Appear-
'ance, but ſuch as they expreſs; a Beha-
'viour, which, though at that time I was

'extremely

'extremely careſs'd by her, I thought very 'ſtrange and unbecoming. For, whatever 'Neceſſity there was of depoſing King *James*, 'he was ſtill her Father, who had been ſo 'ſo lately driven from that Chamber, and 'that Bed; and if ſhe felt no Tenderneſs, I 'thought ſhe ſhould at leaſt have looked 'grave, or even penſively ſad, at ſo melan-'choly a Reverſe of his Fortune.'

Your Grace muſt now give me Leave to lay before you Biſhop *Burnet*'s Account of the ſame Incident; which, without Doubt, had eſcap'd your Memory; or it is not to be ſuppoſed you would have ſo ſeverely cenſured a Princeſs, who, while ſhe liv'd, was ſincerely beloved, and, when ſhe died, was bitterly lamented by a whole People.

'It had been given out, ſays the Biſhop, 'that ſhe was not well pleaſed with the late 'Tranſaction, both with Relation to her Fa-'ther, and the preſent Settlement. Upon 'which the Prince wrote to her, that it was 'neceſſary ſhe ſhould appear, at firſt, ſo 'chearful, that no Body might be diſcou-'raged by her Looks, or be led to apprehend

'that

'that ſhe was uneaſy by Reaſon of what had
'been done. This made her put on a great
'Air of Gaiety when ſhe came to *White-*
'*hall*; and, as may be imagined, had great
'Crouds of all Sorts coming to wait upon
'her. I muſt confeſs, I was one of thoſe
'who cenſured her in my Thoughts. I
'thought, a little more Serioufneſs had done
'as well, when ſhe came into her Father's
'Palace, and was to be ſet on her Father's
'Throne next Day. I had never ſeen the
'leaſt Indecency in any Part of her Deport-
'ment before; which made this appear ſo
'extraordinary, that ſome Days after I took
'the Liberty to aſk her, How it came, that
'what ſhe ſaw in ſo ſad a Revolution, as to
'her Father's Perſon, made not a greater
'Impreſſion on her? She took this Freedom
'with her uſual Goodneſs; and ſhe aſſured
'me, that ſhe felt the Senſe of it very lively
'upon her Thoughts. But ſhe told me, that
'the Letters which had been writ to her,
'had obliged her to PUT ON a Chearfulneſs,
'in which ſhe might, perhaps, go too far,
'becauſe ſhe was OBEYING DIRECTIONS,

'and

'and ACTING A PART which was not 'very NATURAL to her. *Burnet* Vol. I. p. 285.

But this is not all that appears in Hiſtory, in Oppoſition to your Grace's Invective. The ſame Author, in another Place, has furniſhed us with the following Paſſage, which agrees perfectly well with the foregoing.

'A Propoſition was made to the King, 'that a Third-Rate Ship, well mann'd by a 'faithful Crew, and commanded by one who 'had been well with King *James*, but was 'ſuch a one as the King might truſt, might 'ſail to *Dublin* and declare for King *James*. 'The Perſon who told me this offered to be 'the Man, that ſhould carry the Meſſage to 'King *James* (for he was well known to 'him) to invite him to come on Board, 'which he ſeemed to be ſure he would ac-'cept of; and, when he was aboard, they 'ſhould ſail away, and land him either in '*France*, or *Italy*, as the King ſhould de-'ſire, and ſhould have Twenty thouſand 'Pounds to give him when he ſhould be ſet

'on

'on Shore. The King thought it was a well-'form'd Design, and likely enough to ſuc-'ceed; but would not hearken to it: He 'ſaid, he would have no Hand in Treachery, 'and King *James* would certainly carry ſome 'of his Guards and ſome of his Court on 'board with him, and probably they would 'make ſome Oppoſition; and in the Struggle 'ſome Accident might happen to King '*James*'s Perſon, in which he would have 'no Hand. I acquainted the Queen with 'this, and I ſaw in her a GREAT TENDER-'NESS for her Father's Perſon, and ſhe was 'MUCH TOUCHED with the Anſwer the 'King had made.' *Vol.* II. *p.* 47.

I cannot take my Leave of the Biſhop, without making one Quotation more, which yet farther indicates, that your Grace's peremptory Charge was rather the Effect of Prejudice and Paſſion, than a thorough Conviction.

'Both King and Queen were much af-'fected with *Tillotſon*'s Death; the Queen 'for many Days ſpoke of him in the TEN-DEREST MANNER, and not without TEARS. *Ibid. p.* 136.

Could

Could this have been the Caſe, if the Queen had WANTED BOWELS?

But we will not decide on the Biſhop's Evidence, and the Charge ſhall be left open, till we find her Majeſty, in the Sequel, anſwering for herſelf.

The next Remarkable that occurs in your Grace's Apology, is a Demand of certain Lodgings, *viz.* Thoſe that had been the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*'s for the Uſe of her Highneſs, which are readily granted. This is followed with a ſecond Demand of other Apartments contiguous to the firſt, for the Conveniency of her Highneſs's SERVANTS. And here the Duke of *Devonſhire* has the Misfortune to fall both under your Grace's Diſpleaſure, and the Laſh of your Wit; for having taken it into his Head, 'that, could he 'have the Ducheſs of PORTSMOUTH's Lodg-'ings, where there was a fine Room for Balls, 'it would give him a very magnificent Air.' In this Paragraph the Duke is made to aſpire to the Ducheſs of PORTSMOUTH's Lodgings, already allotted to the Princeſs; in the next, it appears he puts in his Claim only to

thoſe demanded for her Highneſs's SERVANTS.

I will repeat your Grace's own Words. 'After many Converſations upon the Affair, the Queen told the Princeſs *that ſhe could not let her have the Lodgings ſhe deſired for her* SERVANTS, *till my Lord* Devonſhire *had reſolved whether he would have* THEM, *or a Part of the Cockpit:* Upon which the Princeſs anſwered, *ſhe would then ſtay where ſhe was, for ſhe would not have my Lord* Devonſhire's *Leavings.* So ſhe TOOK the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth's* APARTMENT, GRANTED HER AT FIRST, and uſed it for her Children, remaining herſelf at the Cockpit.

Not to be too ſevere on the Eſcape hinted at above; your Grace has endeavoured to ſtate this Trifle, as a Conteſt between the Duke of *Devonſhire*, and the Princeſs of *Denmark*, in which the King and Queen are made Partizans to the Duke: But in my humble Opinion, the Point to be decided was, whether the SERVANTS of the KING, or thoſe of the PRINCESS, ſhould be.

FIRST

FIRST obliged: And that ſuch was the Caſe no body, I believe, will diſpute, when they are told that the Duke of *Devonſhire* was then LORD-STEWARD; a Circumſtance your Grace, as it appears, choſe to forget, as not very favourable to the Caſe in Hand.

But the Princeſs had taken a Fancy to the Houſe at *Richmond*, which was likewiſe refuſed: What wonder, after the diſobliging Anſwer ſhe had been *prompted* to make as above; and the as diſobliging Circumſtance of her continuing in her old Lodgings after ſhe had both ſolicited and obtained *new?*

If a Perſonage of leſs Conſequence than your Grace had publiſhed theſe frivolous Tales, they would have deſerved no other Notice than Ridicule: But in your Hands they become of Importance; they are a chief Part of your Defence, and are meant to inſinuate that there was a Quarrel ſubſiſting between the two Siſters, before your Name was called in Queſtion.

The Princeſs, however, ſeem'd to have forgot theſe Bickerings, and *continued to pay all imaginable Reſpect to the King and Queen*

Queen. —This is your Grace's own Acknowledgment. - - After which you proceed thus.

'But this did not hinder her Majeſty from 'expreſſing a great deal of Diſpleaſure, when 'ſome Steps were made in Parliament to-'wards ſettling a Revenue on the Prince and 'Princeſs. Taking her Siſter one Night to 'TASK for it, ſhe aſked her *what was the* '*Meaning of thoſe Proceedings?* To which the 'Princeſs anſwered, *ſhe heard her* FRIENDS '*had a Mind to make her ſome Settlement.* The 'Queen haſtily replied with a very IMPE-'RIOUS Air, *Pray what Friends have you* '*but the King and Me?* I had not the Honour 'to attend the Princeſs that Night; but 'when ſhe came back, ſhe repeated this to 'me. And indeed I never ſaw her ex-'preſs ſo much Reſentment as ſhe did at 'this Uſage; and I think it muſt be allow-'ed ſhe had great Reaſon. For it was un-'juſt in her Siſter not to allow her a decent Proviſion, without an entire Dependence 'on the King. And beſides, the Princeſs 'had in a ſhort Time learnt that ſhe muſt 'be very miſerable, if ſhe was to have no

'Support

'Support but the Friendſhip of the two 'Perſons her Majeſty had mentioned.

'After this the Queen ſaid no more to 'the Princeſs on the Subject of the Settle-'tlement, though they met every Day; and 'the Affair went on ſo well in the Houſe 'of Commons, that her FRIENDS were 'encouraged to propoſe for her a much larger 'Revenue than was at laſt obtained; to 'prevent which, by gaining Time, the King 'prorogued the Parliament.

'The Buſineſs, however was reſumed a-'gain at the next Meeting; and then all 'poſſible Endeavours were uſed, to en-'gage ME by Flattery and by Fear, to diſ-'ſuade the Princeſs from the Purſuit of a 'Settlement. *Pag.* 30.

Here follows an *Interlude* between your Grace and Lady *Fitzharding* (which for fear of fatiguing my Readers, I will not recite) ſerving only to illuſtrate your Grace's ſteddy Purſuit of this one Thing needful, this Parliamentary Settlement, in Defiance of the Ruin that both the Princeſs and you were

bid to expect as the Conſequence: After which you *amplify* as follows.

'But all this, and a great deal more that 'was ſaid, was ſo far from inclining me to 'do what was deſired of me, that it only 'made me more anxious about the Succeſs of 'the Princeſs's Affair, and more earneſt, if 'poſſible, in the Proſecution of it. For, as 'I would have died, rather than have made 'my Court to that Reign by ſacrificing the 'Intereſt of the Princeſs, ſo there was no-'thing I dreaded more, than, by the leaſt 'Appearance of Negligence, or Coldneſs in 'the preſent Cauſe, to give Ground to ſuſ-'pect me of having been flattered, or fright-'ened into ſo baſe a Conduct. I employed 'therefore all the Powers I was capable of 'exerting to advance the Deſign. I knew 'the Thing was reaſonable, the Princeſs's 'Happineſs was concerned in it, and there 'was a fair Proſpect of ſucceeding. Beſides, 'I thought that whatever happened in Par-'liament, the King could not well avoid 'giving ſome Allowance to the next Heir to 'the Crown. And, if he ſhould give her 'nothing,

'nothing; ſhe had however by the Marriage-
'Settlement, 20,000*l.* a Year; which would
'keep her in a retired Way, much more a-
'greeably than ſhe could hope to live at
'Court, if ſhe depended on his Generoſity;
'of which I had no Opinion: For the late
'Lord *Godolphin* had told me, that the King,
'on ſome Meeting at the *Treaſury*, ſpeaking
'of the Civil Liſt, *wondered very much how*
'*the Princeſs could ſpend* 30,000 *l. a Year*,
'though it appeared afterwards that ſome of
'his Favourites had more. And there were
'other Parts of the King's Conduct (which
'ſhall be mentioned in a proper Place) where-
'by it ſufficiently appeared, that I did not
'miſtake in my Opinion of his Diſpoſition,
Pag. 32. 33, 34.

Ill-turned as I am for Panegyric, I cannot help going out of my Way to do Juſtice to your Grace's uncommon Merit, which here breaks out in its full Luſtre: within the Compaſs of a Page and a half, in what a Variety of beautiful Lights does it appear! Your Ardour is but the more inflamed by Oppoſition. ——Like a true Heroine, to carry

your Point you are ready to face even Death itſelf. In caſe of a Miſcarriage, you have the Sagacity to foreſee Reſource upon Reſource. If all ſhould fail, you give us to underſtand you were an excellent Houſewife: And, you inſinuate your own unexampled Generoſity, by your Severity on King *William* for the Want of it.

But I return. — We are next entertained with an other Interlude between your Grace, and the Duke of *Shrewſbury:* in which that Lord offers her Highneſs 50000 *l. per Annum* in the King's Name; and you moſt Complaiſantly reject it, as not ſufficiently ſecured by his MAJESTY'S PROMISE.--The Princeſs is, at the ſame Time, *taught* to do the ſame; as likewiſe, to *think it reaſonable to ſee what her* FRIENDS *could do for her*; and finally we are told, *That the Princeſs carry'd her Point:* And *that* * 50,000 l. *was ſettled by Parliament.* You add,

'For when the King found that he could 'not perſuade her to an entire Dependency 'upon

* Out of a *Civil Liſt* of 600,000*l.* in thoſe frugal Times thought ſufficient: tho' encumber'd with the Stipend of the Queen Dowager; and 100,000*l.* to be raiſed out of it for the Duke of *Schombergh.*

'upon him, he compounded the Matter with 'her FRIENDS upon theſe Terms, to hinder 'their inſiſting on a larger Settlement. The 'Parliament had ſhew'd an Inclination that 'Way: But it was at length thought adviſa-'ble, by the Princeſs's FRIENDS, that 'ſhe ſhould accept of 50,000 *l.* ſecurely 'ſettled, rather than have any farther Strug-'gle, conſidering the great Power and 'Influence of the Crown, by Means of its 'Dependents.

'Nevertheleſs, I was ſo fearful leſt the 'Princeſs ſhould ſuffer for want of good 'Advice, that AFTER I had heard of the 'Commons voting 50,000 *l.* a Year, I 'ſent to ſpeak with my Lord *Rocheſter*, 'and aſked his Opinion, whether the Prin-'ceſs ought to be ſatisfied, or whether it 'was reaſonable ſhe ſhould try to get more. '(I did not then know how much his 'Heart was bent on making his Court to 'the Queen.) His Anſwer to me was, *That 'he thought, not only that the Princeſs ought 'to be ſatisfied with* 50,000 l. *but that ſhe 'ought to have taken it in any Way the King*

'*and Queen pleaſed.* Which made me re-
'flect, that he would not have liked that
'Advice in the Caſe of his own 4,000 *l.*
'a Year from the Poſt-office, ſettled on him
'and his Son.

'But I was not ſo uncivil as to ſpeak
'my Thought, nor ſo fooliſh as to ſtrug-
'gle any longer. For moſt of thoſe who
'had been PREVAILED with to promote the
'Settlement were Tories, among whom
'my Lord *Rocheſter* was a very * GREAT
'MAN. Their Zeal on the preſent Occaſion
'was, doubtleſs, to thwart King *William*;
'for I never obſerved that, on any other,
'they diſcovered much Regard for the Prin-
'ceſs of *Denmark*.

'Tis obſervable People never talk ſo co-
piouſly, as when they talk of themſelves:
Your Grace on this fruitful Subject ſeems to
be all Tongue, and to expect the noble Lord
you addreſs to ſhould be all Ear.——Thus
Repetition flows on Repetition, Reflection
on Reflection, and I had like to have ſaid

Contra-

* *Query*, therefore, whether my Lord *Rocheſter* was not ſomewhat Inſtrumental in carrying this Settlement, as well as Lord and Lady *Marlborough*?

Contradiction on Contradiction. . . . The Parliament has one while an Inclination to enlarge the Settlement; and at another, 'tis more advisable, not to have any farther Struggle, because of the great Power and Influence of the Crown. Your Grace gravely consults Lord *Rochester*, whether the Princess should try for more; and yet concludes it foolish to struggle any longer; You acknowledge this contested Settlement was carried by the Tories, and yet deny them the Merit of it, by representing it to be done out of Spleen to the King, not Affection to her Highness.

I cannot pass over this last Particular, without making use of a Hint that naturally rises from it; which is this: Suppose, Madam, in Right of that Party you have every where made so free with, or in Behalf of any Individual that your Grace has serv'd up for the Entertainment of the Public, or in respect to the Memory of the two Royal Sisters, whose Ashes you have so unseasonably disturb'd, I should adopt this very Method of deciding on your Grace's Conduct,

which you yourſelf have us'd with ſo little Ceremony towards others? Suppoſe, for Example, I ſhould inſiſt, that your Grace's firſt meddling in the Affairs of the Royal Family, and oppoſing the Settlement of the Crown upon the King for his Life, to the Prejudice of the Princeſs of *Denmark*, was not ſo much owing to your Zeal for the Rights of her Highneſs, as to the Forwardneſs of a young Favourite, who juſt found herſelf of ſome Importance, and was reſolved to have it felt and acknowledged? Suppoſe I ſhould inſiſt, that the Alteration of your Conduct in that reſpect, and your adviſing the Princeſs to wave her Claim, was not practiſed ſolely as a complying with the Tories, or the yielding with a Grace what could not be obtained; But to give another Demonſtration of your Aſcendancy over your Royal Miſtreſs, and, thereby, authoriſe both you and your Lord, not merely to ſollicite, but to command Preferment? Suppoſe I ſhould inſiſt, that, till one or both of you were diſappointed of your Expectations, theſe Heart-burnings between the

two

two Sisters never broke out; and that in Reality, the Breach was to be plac'd entirely to your Account? Suppose I should insist, that the Lodgings to be wrested from the Duke of *Devonshire* for her Highness's SERVANTS, were demanded at your Instance, and principally for your Convenience? Suppose I should insist, that your stirring up a Party in the House of Commons to carry a Parliamentary Provision for the Princess, in Defiance of the King and Queen, and without any *previous Application* to either, which the Laws of Decorum rendered indispensable, was neither the Effect of your Zeal for the Interest of, nor Affection for, the Person of her Highness, but partly for the very Motive you are pleased to ascribe to the Tories, *viz.* To thwart King *William*, and partly to indulge the secret Pleasure, I do not care to give it a harsher Name, of appearing *necessary* to her, in whose Favour consisted your principal Importance? I say, Madam, suppose I was to reason and conclude in this Manner

ner, in whatever relates to your Grace's Conduct, am not I ſufficiently juſtify'd by your own Example? But I neither claim, nor ſtand in need of any ſuch Sanction: With whatever Art, Madam, you may think this Account of yours is drawn up; Truth, like Light, has almoſt every where found a Way to inſinuate itſelf; and whoever will open their Eyes, may, if they pleaſe, have the Benefit of it.

We come now to the Uſe which was to be made of the Parliamentary Struggle in Behalf of her Highneſs: which is thus ſumm'd up by your Grace, in the following remarkable Paragraph:

'The Succeſs of the Affair was chiefly 'imputed to the Steadineſs and Diligence 'of my Lord *Marlborough* and ME, both 'by thoſe, to whom it was ſo exceedingly 'diſagreeable, and by her, to whoſe Happi-'neſs it was then ſo neceſſary.'

Here the Word *Friends* ſo often made uſe of by your Grace on this Occaſion, and ſo well underſtood before, is at full explain'd: Yes, Lord and Lady *Churchill* are theſe Al-

mighty-FRIENDS, into whose Hands the Princess commits herself; and for whose Favour and Protection the King and Queen are not only dropt, but disobliged. . . . The poor Princess by herself, appears to be an inconsiderable Thing, without Weight, without Interest, without Consequence; but with Lord and Lady *Churchill* for her Supporters, carries all before her, and obliges our way-ward *Deliverer* himself to condescend to a Compromise.

History-Painters are particularly careful, to make their principal Figure the most conspicuous in the Groupe, and no Body can deny but your Grace has imitated this Craft of theirs to Admiration. Lord and Lady *Churchill*, in the Instance before us, rush forward to the Eye, distinguished with a full Blaze of Light, while her Highness is so covered with their Shadow, as to be scarce visible.

Your Grace set out with being her Playfellow; your next Step was to be her Confident; and henceforward we must consider

fider you as her Governeſs; and, in her Right, the ſupreme Diſpoſer of all Things.

And here it is impoſſible not to remark that, whereas moſt other Princes have been made a Prey to their Vices, it was the peculiar Fate of the illuſtrious Princeſs before us, to be made the Bubble of her Virtues: Thus an over-refin'd Idea of Friendſhip induc'd her to level the Barrier which Royalty of Birth had placed between her Highneſs and Lady *Churchill*; Gratitude for this mighty Service, (which 'tis to be preſum'd your Grace did not fail to magnify as much to her then, as now to the World) obliged her, as it were, to give up her Affairs without Reſerve, into the Hands of ſo notable a Manager; and a modeſt Diſtruſt of her own Capacity, diſpos'd her to be govern'd ſolely by yours.

Of her Condeſcenſion, all the Letters in general your Grace has BETRAY'D to the Public, are very ſufficient Proofs: And what Notions ſhe had of Gratitude appears from the Fragment which follows.

'I have

'*I have had ſomething to ſay to you a great while, and I did not know how to go about it. I have deſigned, ever ſince my Revenue was ſettled, to deſire you would accept of a Thouſand Pounds a Year.* —— *I beg you would only look upon it as an Earneſt of my Good-will, but never mention any Thing of it to me; for I ſhall be aſhamed to have any Notice taken of ſuch a Thing from one that deſerves more than I ſhall ever be able to return.*'

'And ſome Time afterwards, a little Delay being made by her Treaſurer in the Payment of it' (*of which it appears your Grace did not fail to complain*) 'ſhe wrote another Letter, wherein are theſe Words; '*Tis long ſince I mentioned this Thing to dear Mrs.* Freeman. *She has all the Reaſon in the World to believe I did not mean what I ſaid, or that I have changed my Mind, which are both ſo ill Qualities, that I cannot bear you ſhould have Cauſe to think your faithful* Morley *is capable of being guilty of either.*

The

'The Circumſtances of my Family at 'this Time were not very great; yet I was 'ſo far from catching at ſo free and large 'an Offer, that I could not perſuade my-'ſelf to accept of it, till I had ſent the firſt 'Letter to my Lord *Godolphin*, and con-'ſulted him upon the Matter. It was his 'Opinion, that there was no Reaſon in the 'World for me to refuſe it. And perhaps 'no one elſe will think otherwiſe, who 'believes, as he did, that the ſettling of the '*Princeſs*'s Revenue had been *chiefly* owing 'to my Lord *Marlborough*'s *indefatigable* '*Induſtry*, and to MINE.

When I read this Paſſage firſt, I could ſcarce give Credit to my Eyes, I examin'd it over and over again, on the Suppoſition that I had miſtaken your Meaning; and, when there was no longer Room for any Doubt, could not help exclaiming aloud: What! Lady CHURCHILL *ſcruple to accept a Thouſand* POUNDS *a Year?* Impoſſible! nor till I reflected that your Grace was born both to do and ſay extraordinary Things, could I put an End to my Aſtoniſhment.

It

It is to be wiſhed however, Madam, that you had favoured us with the remarkable Piece of Court-Caſuiſtry contained in that conſcientious Epiſtle of your's to Lord *Godolphin*, and his Lordſhip's Anſwer; eſpecially, as we muſt ſuppoſe it might have ſaved your Grace the Trouble of repeating what you had ſaid in the next preceding Page but one, concerning your *indefatigable Induſtry* to ſerve her Highneſs.

I cannot take my Leave of your Grace on this Head, without reminding you of an Occurrence in the Reign of King *James* II. the Uſe and Application of which no Perſon better knows than yourſelf.

Not long after Lady *Churchill* was taken into the Service of the Princeſs of *Denmark*, her Highneſs had the Misfortune to find, that her Expences had exceeded her Income between 6 and 7000 *l.* which they had never done before; and was forced to apply to her Royal † Father for that Sum to enable

† This Fact is partly confirmed by the Princeſs's Letter, to the Lady *Marlborough*, *Account*, p. 87.

able her to diſcharge her Debts; which he readily and chearfully comply'd with. The next Year her Highneſs fell into the like Difficulty, was forc'd to make the like Application, and receiv'd the like Indulgence; but was, ſoon after, ſurpriz'd with a Viſit from his Majeſty, ſo ſudden and unexpected, that Lady *Churchill* and a certain other Lady of her Highneſs's Court had but juſt Time enough to hide themſelves in a Cloſet adjoining; from whence they overheard the King, charging his Daughter with having *ſome body about her*, for whoſe ſake ſhe plunged herſelf into theſe Inconveniencies, and recommending to her a more exact Oeconomy for the future. To this the Princeſs made no Reply but with her Tears; and the King being withdrawn, Lady *Churchill*, to pacify her for the preſent, and anſwer certain other obvious Ends, quitted the place of her Concealment, with the following decent Expreſſions in her Mouth: *Oh Madam! all this is owing to that old R----- your Uncle*; meaning Lord *Rocheſter*, then Lord-Treaſurer; but who afterwards ho-

nourably reſign'd, and was ſucceeded by two *Popiſh* Lords, and Lord *Godolphin*, who held that Office in Commiſſion.

The next Particular that occurs in your Grace's Account, is the Reſolution taken by the Prince of *Denmark* to ſerve at Sea as a Voluntier; which, we are told, occaſion'd a new Difference between the two Siſters: A Reſolution wiſely taken by the Prince, and as politicly oppos'd by the King. It was right in the Prince to diſtinguiſh himſelf; it was right in the King neither to be eclips'd nor rivall'd by the Huſband of the preſumptive Heireſs. The Queen was however to be the Agent in preventing it, not his Majeſty: Upon which, not warn'd by your Grace's former Behaviour, ſhe condeſcends again to apply to Lady *Churchill*, by ſending, firſt, *a great Lord*, and then Lord *Rocheſter*, *to deſire that ſhe would perſuade the Princeſs to keep the Prince from going to Sea*, &c. Which indicates, that even her Majeſty conſidered her Siſter as no better than your Grace's *Ward*; that as much Complaiſance as the Princeſs had for your

your Opinion, it was underſtood the Prince had for her's; and that, in Effect, you had the Management of both.

We now come to the grand Event of all, that ſeparated the two Royal Siſters for the reſt of their Lives; upon which your Grace having expatiated very largely, I ſhall be obliged, againſt my Will, to do the ſame.

'Notwithſtanding all theſe Things (your Grace goes on) 'the Queen and Princeſs 'lived, in *Appearance*, for ſome Time after, '*as if nothing had happened*, till the King 'was pleaſed (without PUBLICLY aſſigning 'any particular Reaſon) to remove my Lord '*Marlborough* from all his Employments. 'His Majeſty ſent Lord *Nottingham* to tell 'him, that he had no more Occaſion for his 'Service. This Event might perhaps be 'well enough accounted for, by ſaying, that 'Lord *Portland* had ever a great Prejudice 'to my Lord *Marlborough*, and that my 'Lady *Orkney* (then Mrs. *Villiers*) though 'I had never done her any Injury, except 'not making Court to her, was my implac'able Enemy. But, I think, it is not to be

'doubted, that the principal Cauſe of the 'King's Meſſage, was the Court's Diſlike 'that any Body ſhould have ſo much Intereſt 'with the Princeſs as I had; who would not 'implicitly obey every Command of the 'King and Queen. The Diſgrace of my Lord '*Marlborough* therefore was deſigned as a 'Step towards removing me from about her.

'A Letter from the Queen to her Siſter, 'which I ſhall preſently give you, affords 'Ground for this Opinion. And the Behaviour of my Lord *Rocheſter*, who was much 'in the Queen's Favour and Councils, confirms it. He had *warmly oppoſed* my 'coming into the *Princeſs's Family*, and he 'now ſhewed himſelf very deſirous to have 'me *removed*, believing, without Queſtion, 'that, could this be compaſſed, he ſhould infallibly have the Government of both 'Siſters: Though certainly, as to the Princeſs, he never *diſcovered* any ſuch *Regard* 'for her, as ſhould give him a *Title* to her '*Confidence*.'

I cannot proceed to wait on your Grace any farther, till I have touched on an Eſcape

or two which you have made in the laſt Paragraph. You have, Madam, uniformly treated my Lord *Rocheſter* with all the Severity and Rancour you are Miſtreſs of.—Behold the Reaſon explain'd by yourſelf. He *oppoſed* your coming into the Princeſs's Family, and was *deſirous* to have you *removed*. This might be Fact: But why did he oppoſe your coming in, or deſire your Removal? You anſwer, That he might have the *Government* of both Siſters. Here your Grace tacitly, though inadvertently, acknowledges you had the *Government* of *ONE*; And yet in the ſame Breath declare, *He never diſcovered any ſuch Regard to her, as ſhould give him a Title to her Confidence*; which is juſt as reaſonable as to ſay, That he travelled to *York*, without ſtirring a Step of the Way.

Your Grace proceeds, *Page* 44. 'But to 'come to the Sequel of the King's Meſſage. 'I ſolemnly proteſt, that the Loſs of my 'Lord *Marlborough*'s Employments would 'never have broke my Reſt one ſingle Night 'upon Account of *Intereſt*; but, I confeſs, '*the being turned out* is ſomething very *diſ-*

'*agreeable*

'*agreeable* to my Temper. And, I believe 'it was three Weeks, before my beſt Friends 'could perſuade me, that it was fit for me 'to go to a Court, which (as I thought) 'had uſed my Lord *Marlborough* very ILL. 'However at laſt they prevailed. And I re-'member the chief Argument was urged by 'my Lord *Godolphin*, who ſaid, that it could 'not be thought, I made any mean Court to 'the King and Queen, ſince to attend the 'Princeſs, was only paying my Duty where 'it was owing.'

Three remarkable Things occur in this Paſſage: One apocryphal; That the Loſs of Lord *Marlborough*'s Employments gave your Grace no Pain on account of *Intereſt*. One indiſputable; that the *being turned out* was very diſagreeable to your Temper. And one extremely artificial; that you were over-perſuaded to go to Court by your Friends. All of which will be ſufficiently explained by the Sequel.

'I waited therefore (your Grace goes on), 'on my Miſtreſs to *Kenſington*. The Conſe-'quence was ſuch, as my Friends, having no

'Reaſon to apprehend it, had never thought 'of. The next Day the Queen wrote to 'her Siſter the following Letter.

Kenſington, Friday, the 5th of *Feb.*

'Having ſomething to ſay to you, which I 'know will not be very pleaſing, I chuſe ra-'ther to write it *firſt*, being *unwilling* to *ſur-'priſe* you; though, I think, what I am 'going to tell you ſhould not, *if you give 'yourſelf the Time to think*, that never any 'Body was ſuffered to live at Court in my 'Lord *Marlborough*'s CIRCUMSTANCES. I 'need not REPEAT the CAUSE he has given 'the King to do what he has done, nor his '*Unwillingneſs* at all Times to come to ſuch 'Extremities, though People do DESERVE 'it.

'I hope, you do me the Juſtice to be-'lieve, it is as *much* againſt my *Will*, that I 'now tell you, that, after this, it is very *un-'fit* Lady *Marlborough* ſhould ſtay with you, 'ſince that gives her Huſband ſo juſt a Pre-'tence of being where he ought not.

'I think,

'I think, I might have expected *you* 'ſhould have ſpoke to *me* of it. And the 'King and I, both *believing* it, made Us 'ſtay thus *long*. But ſeeing you was ſo far 'from it, that you brought Lady *Marlbo-* 'rough hither laſt Night, makes Us reſolve 'to put it off no longer, but tell you, ſhe 'muſt not ſtay; and that I have all the Rea- 'ſon imaginable to look upon your bringing 'her, as the *ſtrangeſt Thing* that ever was 'done. Nor could all my Kindneſs for you '(which is ever ready to turn all you do the 'beſt Way) at any other Time have hindred 'me ſhewing you that Moment; but I *con-* 'ſidered your Condition, and that made me 'maſter myſelf ſo far, as not to take Notice 'of it then.

'But now I muſt tell you, it was very *un-* 'kind in a Siſter, would have been very *un-* 'civil in an Equal, and I need not ſay I 'have *more* to claim. Which, though my 'Kindneſs would make me never exact, yet 'when I ſee the Uſe you would make of it, 'I muſt tell you, I know what is due to me,

'and expect to have it from you. 'Tis upon 'that Account, I tell you plainly, Lady *Marl-* 'borough must not continue with you in the 'Circumſtances her Lord is.

'I know this will be *uneaſy* to you, and 'I am *ſorry* for it; and it is *very much ſo* to 'me to ſay all this to you, for I have all the 'real *Kindneſs* imaginable for you, and as I 'ever have, ſo will always do my *Part* to 'live with you as Siſters ought. That is, 'not only like ſo *near Relations*, but like 'Friends. And, as ſuch, I did think to 'write to you. For I would have made 'myſelf believe your Kindneſs for her, made 'you at firſt *forget* That you ſhould have 'for the King and me; and reſolved to put 'you in mind of it myſelf, neither of Us 'being willing to come to *harſher* Ways.

'But the Sight of Lady *Marlborough* 'having changed my Thoughts, does natu- 'rally alter my Stile. And ſince by that I 'ſee how little you ſeem to conſider what 'even in *common Civility* you owe Us, I 'have told it you plainly; but withal aſſure 'you, that let me have never ſo much Rea-

'ſon

'ſon to take any Thing ill of you, my *Kind-*
'*neſs* is ſo *great*, that I can paſs over moſt
'Things, and *live* with you, as *becomes* me.
'And I deſire to do ſo merely from that Mo-
'tive. For I *do love you*, as my *Siſter*, and
'nothing but yourſelf can make me do other-
'wiſe. And that is the Reaſon I chuſe to
'write this, rather than tell it you, that you
'may *overcome* your *firſt Thoughts*; and
'when you have well conſidered, you will
'find, that though the Thing be hard,
'(which I again aſſure you I am *ſorry* for)
'yet it is not *unreaſonable*, but what has
'*ever been practiſed*, and what *you yourſelf*
'*would do, were you in my Place.*

'I will end this with once more deſiring
'you to conſider the Matter *impartially*, and
'take *Time* for it. I do not deſire an An-
'ſwer *preſently*, becauſe I would not have
'you give a *raſh* one. I ſhall *come* to your
'Drawing-Room To-morrow before you
'play, becauſe you know why I cannot
'make one: At ſome other Time we ſhall
'reaſon the Buſineſs *calmly*; which I will
'*willingly* do, or any Thing elſe that may

'ſhew,

shew it shall never be my *Fault* if we do not live *kindly* together: Nor will I ever be other by *Choice*, but your truly *loving* and *affectionate* Sister,

M. R.

I have not only transcribed this most reasonable Letter of the Queen's at Length, but distinguished such Passages in it with a different Character as turn upon the *Circumstances* of Lord *Marlborough* at that Time; the Sense of the Queen upon seeing his Lady accompanying her own Sister to Court; her Majesty's Regret in imposing what she herself complaisantly calls a Hardship; the Moderation she shews in so often recommending her Sister to take Time to pause upon her Answer; and the many tender Expressions which prove undeniably that her Majesty did not WANT BOWELS.

But how reasonably the Queen acted upon the Whole, will be seen yet more plainly, by making something of a Search into the *Circumstances* of Lord *Marlborough*'s *happening to be in Disgrace:* An Incident, which

your

your Grace seems to have dropt by way of Episode only.

According to a former Quotation it appears, Madam, you sometimes think it may be accounted for by Lord *Portland*'s having a Prejudice to his Lordship, and Lady *Orkney* to your Grace. Sometimes *that any Body should have so much Interest with the Princess* as YOU, who would not *implicitly obey every Command, &c.* (in which Light you are induc'd to look upon his Disgrace as *a Step to your own*) and, sometimes you insinuate, that, as the (a) King *assign'd no Cause* for it, no Cause could be assign'd.

As, therefore, we receive but little Satisfaction from your Grace on this Head, we must next refer to the Accounts given by other Authors; and of these the two first, Bishop *Burnet* and Mr. *Lediard*, may be look'd upon rather as the Duke's Advocates than his Historians.

'Various were the Causes, says Mr. *Lediard*, which were assign'd for this sudden Change, according to the Affections People bore him; and some *Stories* were *divulged*

(a) *Account*, p. 64.

' *indged* to his Disadvantage, tho' with little ' or no Grounds. His Lordship's Loyalty ' could not well be arraigned by his worst ' Enemies: He lov'd his Country too well ' to be Male-content with his King, tho' ' remov'd out of his Favour, without his ' Deserts: And it is evident, he could be ' no Ways engaged in the Interest of his ' former Master; since, in this very same ' Year, when King *James* was about to ' invade *England*, and a formal Declara- ' tion was privately handed about in his ' Name, with a Pardon annexed, for those ' who should return to their Duty, the ' Duke of *Marlborough*, by the Title of ' Lord *Churchill*, was excepted out of this ' Pardon. When he retired, which was ' with the Calmness of the old *Roman Dic-* ' *tator*, he wished to be succeeded by a bet- ' ter Servant, and one more concerned for ' Majesty's Honour.'

' Some, who pretended to look narrowly ' into Affairs, would have his Disgrace ow- ' ing to Jealousies certain Foreigners had ' conceived, of his not being inclined to their

' In-

'Intereſts, and to make Way for one of 'them (by ſome ſaid to be Count *Solmes*) 'to command in his Room; but this could 'only affect his Employment abroad. The 'Proofs he had given of his conſummate 'Knowledge in Military Affairs ſhewed, 'that his Majeſty's *Engliſh* Subjects merited 'the higheſt Poſts in the Army; tho', it 'has been obſerved, they were not enough 'countenanced by the King. It was ſaid, 'that all the Reſentment was, for the Li-'berty he had taken to tell the King, *That 'tho' himſelf had no Reaſon to complain, yet 'many of his good Subjects were ſorry to 'ſee his Royal Munificence confin'd to one or 'two Foreign Lords.* Foreign Hiſtorians 'make no Scruple to name the Earls of '*Portland* and *Rochford*, both *Dutchmen*, 'to be the Lords here aimed at: And add, 'that the King turned his Back upon the 'Earl, without making any Anſwer, and 'ſoon after ſent him a Diſmiſſion of all his 'Employs, and forbad him the Court. 'Thoſe who aſcribe the Jealouſy or Envy 'of Foreign Officers, as a Reaſon for his

'Lord-

' Lordſhip's Diſgrace, think it a Confirma-
' tion of their Opinion, that the Earl was
' not employ'd again, nor call'd to Coun-
' cil till this Motive ceaſed, and an End was
' put to the War, by the Peace of *Ryſwick*.

' A Paſſage of a late Author (Biſhop
' *Burnet*) ſeems likewiſe, to juſtify this
' Opinion. " The King (ſays this Author)
" was thought to love the *Dutch* more than
" the *Engliſh*, to truſt more to them, and
" to admit them to more Freedom with
" him. He gave too much Occaſion to a
" general Diſguſt, which was ſpread, both
" among the *Engliſh* Officers, and the No-
" bility. He took little Pains to gain the
" Affections of the Nation; nor did he con-
" ſtrain himſelf enough to render his Go-
" vernment more acceptable. He was
" ſhut up all the Day long; and his Silence,
" when he admitted any to an Audience,
" diſtaſted them as much, as if they had
" been denied it. The Earl of *Marlborough*
" thought, that the *great Services* he had
" done, were not acknowledged nor reward-
" ed, as they well deſerved, and began to

" ſpeak

" ſpeak like a Man diſcontented. The
" Strain of all the Nation almoſt was, that
" the *Engliſh* were overlooked, and the
" *Dutch* were the only Perſons favoured or
" truſted.

" Notwithſtanding this Obſervation of our
" Author, which was made upon another
" Occaſion, he aſſigns another Reaſon for
" the Earl's Diſgrace. It may not be amiſs
" to give my Readers his Account of it in
" his own Words:

" An Incident (continues the Biſhop) hap-
" pened, near the End of the Seſſion of *Par-*
" *liament*, that had very ill Effects, which
" I unwillingly mention, becauſe it cannot
" be told without ſome Reflections on the
" Queen, whom I always honoured, be-
" yond all the Perſons I had ever known.
" The Earl of *Nottingham* came to the Earl
" of *Marlborough*, with a Meſſage from
" the King, telling him, that he had no
" more Uſe for his Service, and therefore
" he demanded all his Commiſſions. What
" drew ſo ſudden and ſo hard a Meſ-
" ſage was not known; for he had

" been

" been with the King that Morning, and " had parted with him in the ordinary " Manner. IT SEEMED SOME LETTER " WAS INTERCEPTED, WHICH GAVE " SUSPICION. It is certain, that he thought " he was too little conſider'd, and that he " had, upon many Occaſions, cenſured the " King's Conduct, and reflected on the " *Dutch*. But the original Cauſe of his " Diſgrace aroſe from another Conſidera- " tion: The Princeſs (*Ann of Denmark*) " thought herſelf too much neglected by " the King, whoſe cold Way towards her " was ſoon obſerved: After the King was " on the Throne, no Propoſitions were made " to her of a Settlement, nor any Advances " of Money: So ſhe, thinking ſhe was to " be kept in a neceſſitous Dependance on " the Court, got ſome to move in the *Houſe* " *of Commons*, in the Year 1690, when they " were in the Debate concerning the Re- " venue, *that ſhe ſhould have Aſſignments* " *ſuitable to her Dignity*. This both the " King and Queen took amiſs from her; " the Queen complained, more particular-

" ly

" ly, that ſhe was then ill, after her Lying-
" in of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, at *Hampton-*
" *Court*, and that ſhe herſelf was treating
" her, and the young Child, with the Ten-
" derneſs of a Mother, and that yet ſuch
" a Motion was made, *before* ſhe had
" tried, in a *private Manner*, what the
" King *intended* to aſſign her. The Prin-
" ceſs, on the other Hand, ſaid, She knew
" the Queen was a good Wife, ſubmiſſive
" and obedient to every thing that the King
" deſired; ſo ſhe thought the beſt was to
" have a Settlement by Act of *Parliament*.
" On the other Hand, the Cuſtom had al-
" ways been, that the Royal Family (a
" Prince of *Wales* not excepted) was kept
" in a Dependance on the King, and had no
" Allowance, but from his meer Favour
" and Kindneſs; yet, in this Caſe, in which
" the Princeſs was put out of the Succeſſion,
" during the King's Life, it ſeem'd reaſon-
" able, that ſomewhat more than ordinary
" ſhould be done in Conſideration of that.
" The Act paſſed, allowing her a Settle-
" ment of fifty thouſand Pounds: But up-

" on this, a Coldneſs followed between,
" not only the King, but even the Queen
" and the Princeſs; and the Blame of the
" Motion was caſt on the Counteſs of *Marl-*
" *borough*, as moſt in Favour with this
" Princeſs: And this had contributed much
" to alienate the King from her Huſband,
" and had diſpos'd him to receive ill Im-
" preſſions of him.

" Upon his Diſgrace, his Lady was for-
" bid the Court. The Princeſs would not
" ſubmit to this; ſhe thought, ſhe ought
" to be allowed to keep what Perſons ſhe
" pleaſed about herſelf; and when the
" Queen inſiſted on the Thing, ſhe retired
" from the Court. There were, no doubt,
" ill Offices done on all Hands, and there
" were ſome that preſſed the Princeſs to
" ſubmit to the Queen, as well as others
" who preſſed the Queen to paſs it over;
" but without Effect: Both had engaged
" themſelves, before they had well reflected
" on the Conſequences of ſuch a Breach:
" And the Matter went ſo far, that the
" Queen ordered, that no publick Ho-

" nours

" nours ſhould be ſhewed the Princeſs, be-
" ſides many other leſs Matters, which I
" unwillingly reflect on, becauſe I was
" much troubled to ſee the Queen carry ſuch
" a Matter ſo far; and the Breach conti-
" nued to the End of her Life. The *Ene-*
" *mies* of the Government tried what could
" be made of this, to create *Diſtractions* a-
" mong us; but the Princeſs gave no En-
" couragement to them: So that this Miſ-
" underſtanding had no other Effect, but
" that it gave Enemies much ill-natur'd
" Joy, and a ſecret, ſpiteful Diverſion."

' Thus this Author makes the original
' Cauſe of the Earl's Diſgrace, to be an In-
' cident which happened *two Years* before;
' tho' during thoſe 2 Years the King ſhewed
' no *Sign* of it; but, on the contrary, gave
' him all Marks of his *Eſteem*, and of the
' high Opinion he had of his Capacity. Per-
' haps this might co-operate with the other
' Reaſons alledged; and tho' the King might,
' during that Time, ſtifle his Reſentment
' on this Account, in Conſideration of his
' great Services; yet, when fired by new

'Cauſes of Diſpleaſure, or, at leaſt, what 'he thought ſo, it might break a-new in- 'to a Flame, and help to determine his 'Majeſty to proceed in this Manner. The 'Author of the Continuation of *Rapin*, tho' 'he mentions another Reaſon, which I ſhall 'likewiſe take Notice of below, ſeems alſo 'to be of Opinion, that this was the real, 'or at leaſt principal Cauſe of his Diſgrace. 'His Lady underwent the ſame Fate, and 'was likewiſe forbid the Court; which 'her Royal Highneſs, the Princeſs of *Den-* 'mark, thought a great Hardſhip upon her. 'She complained of it to the Queen; but, 'having no Satisfaction given her, ſhe re- 'tired herſelf from Court, 'till after the 'Death of the Queen.

'It was obſerved, that the Morning be- 'fore the Earl's Diſgrace, he waited upon 'the King to introduce Lord *George Ha-* 'milton, now Earl of *Orkney*, to his Ma- 'jeſty; and met with a moſt favourable Re- 'ception: But that very Afternoon, the 'ſame Lord *George Hamilton* was, as I 'have been inform'd by a Gentleman of

'Worth, not only ſent to acquaint his 'Lordſhip, that the King had no farther 'Occaſion for his Service, but ſucceeded 'him as Colonel of a Regiment of Fuſi-'leers. Notwithſtanding all that has been 'ſaid above, this ſudden Change in the 'Mind of the King makes it reaſonable to 'believe, that ſome *unforeſeen* Incident 'at leaſt blew up the Coals, at this Time, 'if it was not the ſole Occaſion of his Ma-'jeſty's Diſpleaſure.

'There has indeed been yet *another* 'Reaſon aſſign'd for it; *(which tho' in print, your Grace takes no notice of)* but with what 'Grounds I ſhall not pretend to determine, '*viz.* That the Earl had revealed to his 'LADY a SECRET, which his Majeſty had '*entruſted* him with: The Author of the 'Continuation of *Rapin* names this Secret, 'and ſays it was a private Deſign on *Dun-'kirk*; which it was pretended the Coun-'teſs diſcovered to Sir *Theophilus Ogle-'thorp*'s Lady. As there was ſuch a De-'ſign form'd about this Time, which miſ-'carried; and it would not have been ſo 'very decent, either for the King, or the

'Miniſtry, to have own'd either of the 'other Reaſons, which I have mentioned 'above; it may not be unnatural to ſup-'poſe, that whether the Earl or his Lady 'ever had, or had not, let drop any Expreſ-'ſions, tending to a Diſcovery of this Mat-'ter, that it may have been made uſe of 'as an Excuſe to cover the real Reaſons of 'their Diſgrace.'

To all this we find added, both by Tradition and ſecret Hiſtory, that a Deſign had actually been form'd upon *Dunkirk*, which but four Perſons in *England* were privy to: the King, Lord *Marlborough*, and two more; that one of theſe four communicated the Secret to his Wife, who, as it was ſaid, ſold it to Lady . . . . . for what ſhe could get: That in conſequence the ſaid Deſign miſcarried, and thoſe concern'd in it abroad were hang'd: That upon this, the King ſent for his three Confidents; and, having, with ſome Trouble, found out the *Leak*, expreſs'd himſelf upon the Occaſion, in his dry Way, as follows, *My Lord, you have put a greater Truſt in your Wife, than I did in mine.*

It is moreover well known, that the very Year in which Lord *Marlborough* HAPPEN'D to be diſgraced, it was univerſally affirmed abroad, and underſtood at home, that certain great Men had made their Peace with King *James*, on the Condition of inducing the Nation to return to their former Obedience: It was even whiſpered that a certain Admiral (then believed to be as much in the Intereſt of King *William* as Lord *Marlborough* himſelf, and afterwards renowned for a ſignal Victory over the *French)* was likewiſe one of the Confederacy; which gave occaſion to the ingenious Author of *Gulliver*'s Travels to inſinuate, that he had obtained that Victory (for want of proper Intelligence) when he was actually under an Engagement to betray the very Fleet entruſted to his Command.

Now, Madam, notwithſtanding the Exception to Lord *Marlborough* in the general Pardon, quoted above by Mr. *Lediard*, his Lordſhip's Name was ſaid to be on this Liſt of Converts, as well as the Admiral's; and the ſame thing was afterwards averr'd by

poor Sir *John Fenwick*, who fell a Sacrifice to his own indiſcreet Confeſſions: All which was yet farther confirmed by a *Welch* Gentleman of Diſtinction, whoſe Name I chuſe to conceal for his Family's Sake, then an Exile at St. *Germain*'s, and who perſiſted in the Truth of it to his dying Day.

Were I to exerciſe the like Severity, which your Grace has done on much ſlighter Occaſions, very home Concluſions might, perhaps be drawn from theſe Premiſſes: But, however provoked, I ſhall make no other Uſe of them, than to explain Lord *Marlborough*'s CIRCUMSTANCES with reſpect to the King, as hinted at in her Majeſty's Letter; or his HAPPENING to be in Diſgrace according to the favourite Phraſe of his D—r.

His Lordſhip's ſaid *Circumſtances* may, upon the whole Evidence, then be ſumm'd up as follow.

His Lordſhip had once already changed Sides; his Lordſhip had openly expreſſed his Diſguſt on ſeeing Foreigners more confided in, than himſelf. His Lordſhip had joined with his Lady and the Tories, in the Caſe

of

of the Princeſs. His Lordſhip had been truſted with a Secret, which had been betrayed: And Intelligence, no matter whether true, or falſe, had eſcaped from St. *Germain's*, that his Lordſhip was actually in a Treaty to reſtore his old Maſter.

On the other Hand, the King while Prince of *Orange*, had ſeen enough to put him early on his Guard, againſt all Combinations among his Nobility: He knew he was not poſſeſſed of the Hearts of his People. He had Evidence enough, that Deſigns were continually forming againſt him, and tho' he lov'd to viſit, the had no Inclination to take up his Reſidence in *Holland*.

Whether, therefore, Lord *Marlborough* was juſtly ſuſpected or not; the King, at ſuch a Criſis, had very ſufficient Reaſon for no longer truſting, and even taking care to ſecure ſo dangerous a Man: which leads me to the Queen's Share in this controverted Tranſaction.

By her Majeſty's Phraſe to her Siſter, *I need not* REPEAT *the* CAUSE *he has given the King to do what he has done*, it appears plainly

plainly enough, that this Cauſe was not unknown to the Princeſs; and 'tis very remarkable that her Highneſs, in her Anſwer, does not urge one Word in his Lordſhip's Defence.

But 'tis neceſſary to inſert the Letter itſelf.

'Your Majeſty was in the right to think 'your Letter would be very ſurprizing to 'me. For you muſt needs be ſenſible e-'nough of the Kindneſs I have for my La-'dy *Marlborough*, to know that a Com-'mand from you to part with her muſt be 'the greateſt Mortification in the World to 'me; and indeed of ſuch a Nature, as I 'might well have hoped your Kindneſs to 'me would have always prevented. I am 'ſatisfied SHE *cannot have been guilty of any* 'Fault to you. And it would be extream-'ly to her Advantage, if I could here repeat 'every Word that ever ſhe had ſaid to me 'of you in her whole Life. I confeſs, it 'is no ſmall Addition to my Trouble to 'find the Want of your Majeſty's Kind-'neſs to me upon this Occaſion; ſince I 'am

' am ſure I have always endeavoured to de-
' ſerve it by all the Actions of my Life.

' Your Care of my preſent Condition is
' extremely obliging. And if you would
' be pleaſed to add to it ſo far, as, upon my
' Account, to recal your ſevere Command
' (as I muſt beg Leave to call it in a Mat-
' ter ſo tender to me, and ſo little reaſon-
' able, as I think, to be impoſed upon me,
' that you would ſcarce require it from the
' meaneſt of your Subjects) I ſhould ever
' acknowledge it as a very agreeable Mark
' of your Kindneſs to me. And I muſt as
' freely own, that as I think this Proceed-
' ing can be for no other Intent than to
' give me a very ſenſible Mortification, ſo
' there is no Miſery that I cannot readily
' reſolve to ſuffer, rather than the Thoughts
' of parting with her. If after all this that
' I have ſaid, I muſt ſtill find myſelf ſo un-
' happy as to be farther preſſed in this Mat-
' ter, yet your Majeſty may be aſſured, that
' as my paſt Actions have given the greateſt
' Teſtimony of my Reſpect both for the
' the King and you, ſo it ſhall always be my

' Endea-

'Endeavour, wherever I am, to preſerve it 'carefully for the Time to come, as be-'comes

'*Your* MAJESTY'S

From the *Cockpit*, *Feb.* 6th 1692.

'*very affectionate Siſter*

'*and Servant*,

ANNE.

The Princeſs, without doubt, held the Pen on this Occaſion: But, as ſhe was then POSSESS'D by your Grace, I ſhall make no Scruple to preſume that you was the *Dictatreſs*. 'Tis otherwiſe, not to be accounted for, that ſhe ſhould utterly depart from that Exactitude of Good-breeding, which, in every other Occurrence, diſtinguiſhed her as much as the Crown ſhe afterwards wore. Inſtead of which, in the Caſe before us, ſhe is *led* not only to violate the Laws of Decorum in making a Viſit to her Siſter and her Queen, with the Wife of an obnoxious Perſon in her Train, which, as her Majeſty juſtly ſtiles it, was the *ſtrangeſt*

eſt Thing that ever was done; but, when charged with this inconſiderate Step in the mildeſt and moſt affectionate Terms, never deigns to return one Syllable of Excuſe, or Apology for it: But, on the contrary, inſiſts that Lady *Marlborough* has been guilty *of no Fault*, and, therefore, ſhe will endure all Extremities rather than part with her. This, in ſhort, is the Subſtance of her Highneſs's Letter; and if this does not breathe all the impetuous Spirit of one who has been raſh enough to ſay in Print, † *I could not endure to have her do any thing that I would not have done in her* PLACE, there is no ſuch thing as Character or Manner to diſtinguiſh one Perſon from another.

I muſt then again beg leave, Madam, to conſider this Letter as yours, and not the Princeſs's; and likewiſe, to take Notice that your Grace, having ſaddled your Friends with the Inſult of your Viſit to Court, while your Lord HAPPEN'D to be in Diſgrace, loſes no Time in ſaying any one plauſible Thing to palliate it; but leaving them to anſwer for

† *Account*, p 120.

for themſelves as they may, hurries on to the Queen's Attempt to *turn you out*; that grand Article which had ſomething in it ſo abhorrent to your *Temper*.

But, before we are deafen'd by the Heat and Impatience of your Grace on that Account, it may be neceſſary, as 'tis certainly moſt decent, to lend an Ear to what may be ſaid for her Majeſty: *Viz.*

That in the critical Situation of King *William*, he could not be too vigilant againſt the Deſigns of his Enemies. That, in conſequence of the Intelligence he had then receiv'd, I ſay again, whether true or falſe, it behoved him to be before-hand with thoſe who were caballing againſt him. That it was of Importance to him that his People ſhould believe he proceeded to Severities with no Perſon without ſufficient Cauſe. That for the Princeſs to countenance thoſe he had diſgraced, argued, that either ſhe deſign'd by that Step to have them thought innocent, or that ſhe herſelf, which is not to be imagined, eſpouſed their Proceedings. That the Queen, as ſhe ought to be, was entirely in the Inte-

reſt

reſt of her Husband. That in this, as in every other Affair, (notwithſtanding your Grace takes ſuch Pains to ſignify he was, during a great Part of this Quarrel, in *Flanders*) ſhe governed herſelf by his * Command. That the Diſcarding Lady *Marlborough*, of whatever Importance ſhe had made herſelf, was a Trifle, in Compariſon to the probable Conſequences of a ‡ Breach between the two Siſters. And that tho' any *other* Lady might not have been involved in the Guilt of her Husband, it was impoſſible to think ſo of Lady *Marlborough*, becauſe it was well known ſhe governed her Lord in all Things.

And now for your Grace.—— But how is it poſſible to follow you thro' that Maze of Cavils, Reproaches, Expoſtulations, Complaints, Invectives, Pleadings, Paſſions, *&c.* with which almoſt every Period, for ſeveral Pages

* As appears moſt evidently by her Return to the Princeſs's Meſſage in her laſt Illneſs, *That the* KING *would ſend an Anſwer the next Day*. Account, *Page* 3.

‡ Which is even witneſſed by her Grace herſelf. 'Two or 'three *Jacobite* Ladies alſo came to her; becauſe (as it was 'eaſy to obſerve) all of that Intereſt rejoiced much at the Quar-'rel.' *Ibid*, p. 49.

Pages ſucceſſively is entangled?——Yes, you comment upon your Grievances, recapitulate your Services, upbraid the Queen with an Alteration of Sentiments towards you, without the leaſt Hint that it was occaſion'd by a Change of Manners in you; and call upon Heaven and Earth to witneſs, how *hard* it was that even Kings and Queens ſhould preſume to *turn you out*, when they had all the Reaſon in the World to know how ill you would take it at your Hands.——One would almoſt think the Fate of an Empire was depending, or even that the good Genius of the World was taking its final Leave.

But, in the Midſt of all, your Grace is ſtill yourſelf, and manage Matters ſo dexterouſly, that the very Gates of Hell cannot prevail againſt you.—The King thunders, the Queen orders you to remove from the *Cockpit*; but, rather than comply, the poor Princeſs is induced to remove herſelf, *tho' reſolved to do every Thing reſpectful to the King and Queen*, except in the *only Thing* required of her. So certain it is, that *evil Communication corrupts good Manners!*

But

But this very extraordinary Step of her Highneſs's, was prefac'd by a Letter to the Queen, which was as follows.

'I am very ſorry to find that all I have 'ſaid my ſelf, and my Lord *Rocheſter* for 'me, has not had effect enough to keep 'your Majeſty from perſiſting in a Reſolu-'tion, which you are ſatisfied muſt be ſo 'great a Mortification to me, as, to *avoid* 'it, I ſhall be *obliged* to *retire*, and deprive 'myſelf of the Satisfaction of living where I 'might have frequent Opportunities of aſ-'ſuring you of that Duty and Reſpect, which 'I always have been, and ſhall be deſirous to 'pay you upon all Occaſions.

'My only Conſolation in this Extremity 'is, that, not having done any Thing in all 'my Life to deſerve your Unkindneſs, I hope 'I ſhall not be long under the Neceſſity of 'abſenting myſelf from you: the Thought 'of which is ſo uneaſy to me, that I find 'myſelf too much indiſpoſed to give your 'Majeſty any farther Trouble at this Time.

It is remarkable, that tho' the Princeſs in this Letter acknowledges the *good Offices* of her Uncle the Lord *Rocheſter*, in her Behalf to the Queen, your Grace endeavours to explain them away; which charitable Attempt of your's has no other apparent Foundation, but that his Lordſhip excuſed himſelf from carrying her Highneſs's firſt Letter to the Queen, in which appeared ſo little Affection or Regard to her Majeſty, and ſo ſtrong an Infatuation with Reſpect to your Grace. A Proceeding, in my humble Opinion, not only blameleſs, but highly laudable; in as much as it was an Office which became none but her Highneſs's worſt Enemy, except in her Service and therefore obliged to obey her Commands, to undertake.

As to your Grace's happy Sneers at a *Plot* hid in a *Flower-Pot*, and *Young*'s being held by the *Court-Lawyers* an *irreproachable* Witneſs, in the Caſe of your Lord, becauſe he had not *loſt his Ears*, if they raiſe a Laugh, I ſuppoſe it is all they were inſerted for: and if one Biſhop, for his own Sake, as being accuſed of being one of the Conſpira-

tors,

tors, has diſculpated Lord *Marlborough*, together with the other Peers, ſaid to be in the ſame Aſſociation; and if another *(Burnet)* for the Sake of Truth, has done the ſame, neither of them has been hardy enough to make this Forgery of *Young*'s a Device of the Government's, or repreſent it was countenanced by a Secretary of State, according to the Aſſertion of your Grace. (My Lord *Romney*, Secretary of State, had *ſent* to one *Young*, *&c.* in *order* to *make* him what they call a *legal Evidence.)* So that this ſtrange Circumſtance reſts ſolely on your Grace's ſingle Authority, and will be ſwallowed, or not, according to the Credulity of your Readers.

Your Grace is pleaſed to add, *p.* 65. 'My 'Lord *Devonſhire*, my Lord *Bradford*, and 'the late Duke of *Montagu*, thought it *in-* '*famous* to ſend my Lord *Marlborough* to 'Priſon upon ſuch Evidence; and therefore 'when the Warrant for his Commitment came 'to be ſign'd at the Council-table, they refuſed 'to put their Hands to it, though at that Time 'they had no particular Friendſhip for him.'

Infamous is a broad Word, Madam, and

neither authorized by theſe Lords refuſing to ſign the Commitment, nor the Fact itſelf, as I have already made appear.———But your Grace's Paſſions ſeem to be Proof againſt Time itſelf!

This important Incident of Lord *Marlborough*'s Commitment, gives Place to an epiſtolary Correſpondence between her Highneſs and your Grace. *One Side* of which you have been pleaſed to lay before the Public, as likewiſe *one Motive* for ſo doing, *viz.*

'To give us a more *lively Impreſſion* of 'the *Cruelty* of the Queen's Command, that 'injoined her Siſter to part with a Friend ſo 'dear to *her Heart*, merely to gratify the '*Royal Pride* in a *Point of Ceremony*.'

With what Candour and Ingenuity, Madam, you have ſtated the Queſtion! and how worthy you have painted yourſelf of thoſe paſſionate Expreſſions in the Letters following! *p.* 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72.

To Lady Marlborough.

'Though I have nothing to ſay to my dear 'Mrs. *Freeman*, I cannot help enquiring how 'ſhe and her Lord does. If it be not conve-

'nient

'nient for you to write, when you receive this, 'either keep the Bearer till it is, or let me 'have a Word or two from you by the next 'Opportunity when it is eaſy to you; for I 'would not be a Conſtraint to you at any 'Time, much leſs now, when you have ſo 'many Things to do, and think of. All I 'deſire to hear from you at ſuch a Time as 'this, is, that you and your's are well; 'Which, next to having my Lord *Marlbo-* 'rough out of his ENEMIES Power, is the 'beſt *News* that can come to her, who, to 'the *laſt Moment* of her Life, will be dear 'Mrs. *Freeman*'s.

To Lady Marlborough.

'I give dear Mrs. *Freeman* a thouſand 'Thanks for her kind Letter, which gives 'me an Account of her Concerns; and that 'is what I deſire more to know than any 'other News. I ſhall reckon the Days and 'Hours, and think the Time very long till 'the Term is out, for both your Sake and 'my Lord *Marlborough*'s, that he may be at 'Liberty, and your Mind at Eaſe. You do 'not ſay any Thing of your Health, which

'makes me hope you are well, at leaſt, not 'worſe than when you were here. And, 'dear Mrs. *Freeman*, don't ſay when I 'can ſee you, if I come to Town; there-'fore I aſk what Day will be moſt conve-'nient to you? For, though all Days are 'alike to me, I ſhould be glad you would 'name one, becauſe I am to take ſome Phy-'ſick, and would order that accordingly. I 'confeſs, I *long* to ſee you, but am not ſo 'unreaſonable to deſire that Satisfaction till 'it is eaſy to you. I wiſh with all my Soul, 'that you may not be a true Propheteſs, and 'that it may be ſoon in our Power to *enjoy* '*one another's Company*, more than it has 'been of late; *which is all I covet in this* '*World.*

To Lady Marlborough.

'I am ſorry with all my Heart, dear 'Mrs. *Freeman* meets with ſo many De-'lays; but it is a Comfort, THEY cannot keep 'Lord *Marlborough* in the *Tower* longer than 'the End of the Term; and, I hope, when 'the Parliament ſits, Care will be taken that 'People may not be clapt up for nothing, or

'elſe

'elſe there will be no living in Quiet for 'any Body, but inſolent *Dutch*, and ſneak-'ing, mercenary *Engliſhmen*. Dear Mrs. '*Freeman*, farewel; be aſſured your faithful 'Mrs. *Morley* can never *change*; and, I 'hope, you do not in the leaſt doubt of her 'Kindneſs, which, if it be *poſſible*, *encreaſes* '*every Day*, and that can never have an 'End but with her Life. Mrs. *Morley* hopes 'her dear Mrs. *Freeman* will let her have the '*Satisfaction* of hearing from her *again* To-'morrow.

To Lady Marlborough.

'Dear Mrs. *Freeman* may eaſily imagine, 'I cannot have much to ſay, ſince I ſaw 'her. However, I muſt write two Words. 'For though I believe ſhe does not doubt of 'my Conſtancy, ſeeing how baſe and falſe 'all the World is, I am of that Temper, I 'think, I *can never ſay enough to aſſure you* '*of it*. Therefore give me LEAVE to *aſſure* 'you *they can never change* me. And *there* '*is no Miſery I cannot readily reſolve to ſuf-*'*fer, rather than the Thought of parting* '*from you. And I do ſwear, I would ſooner be*

'*torn in Pieces, than alter this my Reſolu-*
'*tion.* My dear Mrs. *Freeman*, I *long to*
'hear *from* you.

To Lady Marlborough.

'My dear Mrs. *Freeman* was in ſo diſmal
'a Way when ſhe went from hence, that I
'cannot forbear aſking how ſhe does, and if
'ſhe has yet any Hopes of Lord *Marlbo-*
'*rough*'s being ſoon at Liberty. For God's
'Sake, have a Care of your *dear Self*, and
'give as little Way to melancholy Thoughts
'as you can. If I could be as *often* with
'you as thoſe that have it in their *Power*, but
'not in their Will, you ſhould ſeldom be
'alone; but though I have not that *Satiſ-*
'*faction*, as much as I *deſire*, I aſſure you,
'my *Heart is always with you*; and if *Wiſhes*
'ſignified any Thing, you would have *no un-*
'*eaſy* Minute.

'Though I long of all Things to hear from
'my dear Mrs. *Freeman*, I am not ſo unrea-
'ſonable as to expect the Groom ſhould come
'back To-night, if he comes to you at an
'unſeaſonable Hour; therefore keep him till

'it

'it is eaſy to you to write. But I am in 'Hopes, I ſhall have a *Word or two* before I 'go to Bed; becauſe my dear Mrs. *Freeman* 'has promiſed I ſhall hear from you.

'I fancy Aſs's Milk would do you good, 'and that is what you might take Morning 'or Afternoon, as it is moſt convenient.

'I had no ſooner ſealed my Letter, but I 'received my dear Mrs. *Freeman*'s, for which 'I give her a *thouſand Thanks*, and am over-'joyed at the good News you ſend me, which 'I hope will cure you of every Thing.

To Lady Marlborough.

'I am in Pain to know how my dear Mrs. '*Freeman* does, for ſhe is not uſed to com-'plain, nor to be let Blood for a little Thing; 'and therefore I cannot help enquiring what 'is the Matter, and how ſhe finds herſelf 'now? I can come either to *London* or to '*Camden-Houſe* To-morrow or *Monday*, or 'any other Day. If you will let me know 'where and when, and what Time I may 'have the Satisfaction of ſeeing you, your 'faithful *Morley* will be ſure to meet you.

I have

I have already hinted, that your Grace has favoured us but with *one Side* of this Correſpondence; and now cannot help adding, that your *Account* would have been much *fairer* and *clearer*, if you had likewiſe given us the other. What you have *expos'd*, on your own Confeſſion, flattered your Reſentments; and it would be no Breach of Charity, to inſinuate your Vanity likewiſe: What you have concealed, 'tis ſhrewdly ſuſpected, makes againſt you; for thoſe who are not afraid of the whole Truth, think it is for their Advantage to ſet forth the whole Evidence.

Your Grace next proceeds to inform us, that, notwithſtanding her Highneſs's Tenderneſs for you, ſhe *was very attentive not to be wanting in any Point of* DUE *Reſpect* to the Queen; (I could have wiſh'd, Madam, you had uſed the Word *Ceremonial* on this Occaſion) and therefore, on her falling in Labour, diſpatched Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt* with her *Compliments*, &c. to inform her Majeſty of it, *&c.* and ſoon after Lady *Charlotte Beverwaert*, to ſignify that ſhe was brought

brought to Bed of a Child that died ſome Minutes after the Birth ; who waited, you tell us, a conſiderable Time before the Queen ſaw her, becauſe Lord *Rocheſter* was not there. And that 'after ſome Converſation 'with him, the Queen ſent for my Lady '*Charlotte*, and told her, *ſhe would go that* '*Afternoon and ſee the Princeſs at* Sion, and 'ſhe was there very ſoon after the Notice 'arrived!'

Now, from this Incident, it is very obvious to me, and I believe to every Body elſe, that Lord *Rocheſter* was really her Highneſs's *Friend*, tho' your Grace has taken ſuch Pains to repreſent him otherwiſe; ſince the Queen apparently reſolved on this Viſit by his Lordſhip's Advice.

The Interview between the Siſters is, indeed, ſtrangely ſtated by your Grace: But the Evidence of a Party was never yet admitted by any equitable Judge. Beſides, the Truth breaks out, involuntarily, even in the very Speech put into the Mouth of her Majeſty; rough and imperious as it is *made* to appear, it argues, at leaſt, a Diſpoſition to be

be reconciled; and, ſetting aſide your Grace's Prejudices, on no unreaſonable Conditions. 'Tis however to no Purpoſe to reaſon on falſe Premiſſes; and I can, by no Means, be perſuaded that ſhe, who firſt ſignified her Mind with ſo much Caution and Moderation, and ſo often put the Princeſs on her Guard not to return a raſh Anſwer, ſhould now break in upon, expreſs herſelf to, and take her Leave of her Siſter (in that Condition) ſo abruptly; eſpecially as your Grace yourſelf, tho' for another End, bears the following Witneſs in her Favour.

'I have heard that the Queen, when ſhe 'came home, was pleaſed to ſay, *She was* 'SORRY *ſhe had ſpoke to the Princeſs*; *who*, 'ſhe confeſſed, *had ſo much Concern upon her* '*at renewing the Affair, that ſhe trembled,* '*and looked as white as the Sheets.*'

If there is Leiſure at the laſt Day for ſuch minute Particulars as theſe, which take up ſo much Room in your Grace's Book, no Doubt the *Matter of Fact* will be known; and till then we muſt content ourſelves with what ſeems moſt like it.

To

To finiſh upon this Scene. Your Grace adds the two enſuing Paragraphs.

'I *do not* SEE how the moſt zealous Ad-'vocates for the Queen can vindicate her in 'theſe Proceedings to an only Siſter, nor how 'a Man of that *mighty Underſtanding*, my 'Lord *Rocheſter* was ſaid to have, could 'THINK, that a Viſit (which the Queen 'made to every Counteſs) was ſo extraordi-'nary a Grace to a Siſter, that it ſhould 'oblige her to do, what ſhe had retired from 'the Court to avoid.

'I muſt obſerve to your Lordſhip, that 'the King was not in *England*, when this 'laſt Thing happened. My Lord *Rocheſter* 'was the Queen's *Oracle*; and whether 'he had any Share or not in beginning the 'ill Uſage of the Princeſs, he was without 'queſtion the *Proſecutor* of it.

Nothing is more extraordinary than that your Grace ſhould *ſee* ſo far into other People's Concerns, and ſo little a Way into your own. But if your Eye-Sight was ſo bad while your Papers were yet in your Cloſet, I hope the Opinion of the Public, for which you

you manifeſt ſuch a Deference, has by this Time enabled you to *ſee* better than ever. Even I, inconſiderable as you may affect to think me, have contributed ſomething to your Cure: You already *ſee* the Queen can be vindicated: and as to the *mighty Underſtanding* of my Lord *Rocheſter*, which you are pleas'd ſo often to ſneer at, I think that likewiſe is made ſufficiently evident by the Expedient of this very Viſit, tho' it is treated with ſuch Scorn by your Grace. For notwithſtanding the Queen did that Honour occaſionally to Counteſſes it muſt be underſtood as limited to thoſe, who were upon *good Terms* with her Majeſty; which not being *then* the Caſe of her Highneſs, my Lord ROCHESTER very wiſely thought it to be an *Advance* on the Queen's Side, and therefore to be received as a *Grace* by the Princeſs.

But as a flagrant Inſtance of the marvellous Conſiſtency of your whole Work, let me beg your Grace to compare theſe two laſt Paragraphs. In the firſt, my Lord *Rocheſter* is ridicul'd for propoſing an Expedient to reconcile the two Royal Siſters; and in

in the next, is charged with being the (*Sole* is underſtood) *Proſecutor of the Quarrel.*

The Credit of my Lord ROCHESTER's *mighty Underſtanding* does not, however, depend on this Expedient. Your Grace has already told us he oppoſed your Admiſſion into the Service of the Royal Family; and the Miſchief you created in it, is a very ſufficient Inſtance of an uncommon Penetration.

This, likewiſe, is but one of the almoſt innumerable Proofs of the Greatneſs of his Abilities: If your Grace had ever *read*, 'tis poſſible you would not, by attempting to make a Jeſt of his Underſtanding, have drawn your own into Queſtion. His noble Defence of his great * Father, his conſcientious Oppoſition of the *Excluſion-Bill*, however unpopular, were equal Proofs of his Genius and his Virtue: But the ſhrewd Light in which he ſtated the Vote of † *Abdication*, in

* The Earl of *Clarendon* when impeach'd.

† The Convention, which upon the Prince of *Orange*'s Letters, met on the 22d of *January* 1688. having on the 28th of the ſame Month come to the following Reſolutions,

in the grand Conference between the Lords and Commons, which left the moſt forward Undertakers for our late Deliverer without a Reply,

ſolutions, *viz.* that King *James* II. having endeavoured to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the original Contract between King and People; and by the Advice of Jeſuits and other wicked Perſons, having violated the fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the Kingdom, hath abdicated the Government, and that the Throne is thereby vacant: The Lords concurred with this Reſolution with Amendments; for inſtead of the Word *Abdicated*, they put in *Deſerted*, and quite left out, *that the Throne is thereby vacant*. This occaſioned a free Conference between the Lords and Commons, and my Lord *Rocheſter* concluded the Debate about the firſt Amendment in theſe Words, 'The Lords 'have given their Reaſons why they altered the 'Word *Abdicated*, becauſe it was a Word not known 'in the Common Law, and of doubtful Significati-'on: Therefore it would be well if the Commons 'would pleaſe to expreſs their own Meaning by it. 'I believe my Lords would be induced to agree, 'that the King hath *abdicated*, that is, renounced 'the Government for *himſelf*: If you mean *no fur-'ther* than that, and if you do ſo, why ſhould you 'not be pleaſed to explain your ſelves, that every one 'may know how the Matter ſtands? And, to pre-'ſerve a good Correſpondence between both Houſes, 'in ſuch a Juncture and Conjunction as this? But if 'you do not mean any thing *more* by it than *Abdica-'tion* for *himſelf only*, and though their Lordſhips ſhould 'agree to the uſing of the Word *Abdicated*, yet this 'would prove a greater Argument againſt their agree-'ing in the other Point about the *Vacancy of the Throne*;

'there-

Reply, will render his Name venerable, when your Grace's, however artificially guarded, may be heard of no more.

But

'therefore we would be glad to have you explain your 'ſelves what you mean by it.

Here there was a Pauſe.——

And the Commons afterwards proceeding to the 2d Amendment, the Lords, in the whole Courſe of the Debate, ſhewed the great Concern they had for the Succeſſion of the Crown; and my Lord *Rocheſter* made it appear he had that Matter at Heart as much as any of them, as appears from what follows; 'In a free Confe-'rence the Points in Queſtion are fully to be debated; 'and the Lords, in order to their Agreement with the 'Commons, are to be ſatisfy'd what is meant, and how 'far it may extend.

'You, Gentlemen, that are the Managers for the 'Houſe of Commons, it ſeems, come with a limited 'Commiſſion, and *will not enter into that Conſidera-'tion*, which, (as our Reaſons expreſs) hath a great 'Weight with my Lords, whether this Vote of the 'Commons will not make the Monarchy of *England*, 'which has always heretofore been Hereditary, to be-'come *Elective*.

'That the Vacancy of the Throne will infer ſuch 'a Conſequence, to me appears very plain. And I 'take it from the Argument, that the laſt Gentleman, 'meaning Mr. [afterwards Lord] *Somers*, uſed for the 'Word *Vacant*, out of the Record of *Richard* 2d's 'time, that is cited for a Precedent for that Word. 'But as that is the only Precedent, yet 'tis attended 'with this very Conſequence; for it being there de-'clared, that the Royal Seat was *vacant*, immediate-'ly did follow an *Election* of *Henry* IV. who was not '*next* in the Right Line. Did not then this Hereditary 'Monarchy in this Inſtance become *Elective?* When

But 'tis plain your Grace not only hated him, but feared him: And what Wonder? He was Uncle to the Princeſs; ſhe had an Opinion of his good Intentions towards her; and you were reſolv'd at any Rate, to engroſs her all to yourſelf; which his *mighty Underſtanding* and upright Intentions, if allowed fair Play, might poſſibly have diſappointed you of.

So much at preſent for my Lord *Rocheſter*.

Your Grace next entertains us with a pathetic Scene of Diſtreſs on one Side, and Heroiſm on the other. Having rightly enough ſuppoſed that you ought to have made *ſome Propoſal* to the Princeſs, to free her from the Trouble ſhe was in (on YOUR ACCOUNT might have been added) the Narrative is thus continued.

'I aſſure

'King *Charles* 2d died, I would fain know whether, 'in our Law the Throne was *Vacant*: No ſure, the 'next *Heir* was immediately in the Throne, and ſo, 'it is in all Hereditary ſucceſſive Governments. In-'deed in *Poland* when the King dies, there is a *Va-'cancy*; becauſe there the Laws know no certain Suc-'ceſſor: ſo that the Difference is plain, that where-'ever the Monarchy is Hereditary, upon the ceaſing 'of him in Poſſeſſion, the Throne is *not vacant*; 'where 'tis *Elective* 'tis *Vacant*.

'I assure you, that, from the very Beginning of the Difference, it was my earnest Request to let me go from her; for tho' had I been in her *Place*, I would NOT have COMPLIED with the Queen's Demand, yet I thought that in mine, I could not discharge what I owed to the Princess, without employing every Argument my Thoughts could suggest, to prevail with her to part with me. But whenever I said any Thing that looked that Way, she fell into the greatest *Passion* of *Tenderness* and *Weeping* that is possible to imagine. And though my Situation at that Time was so disagreeable to my Temper, that I could have chosen to go to the *Indies* sooner, than to endure it; yet, had I been to suffer a *thousand* Deaths, I think I ought to have submitted, rather than have gone from her against her Will.

What an affecting Image have we here of an infatuated Princess, sacrificing almost every Thing to an ill-understood Opinion of the Duties of Friendship? But the Impulse of Compassion towards her Highness must

ſoon give Way to that of Admiration due to your Grace. Church-Martyrs we have whole Books of; but a Court-Martyr is a *Phœnix*, and not to be found above once an Age. Be it known then, by theſe Preſents, that Lady *M*- - - - - was that *Phœnix*; that ſhe has given it under her own Hand ſhe was: and that her *ipſe dixit* is to be allow'd againſt all Facts and Reaſonings whatever!

Your Grace, I hope, will pardon this ſhort Excurſion, ſince calculated for your Service: for without it, Doubts would have aroſe, whether the Princeſs had not been *artfully* work'd up to this Tranſport of Tenderneſs? and whether this Reſignation of your Grace's was not *Artificial* too; eſpecially when a *ſubſequent Paſſage* (P. 96, 97.) comes into Conſideration, and when theſe remarkable Words *For though had I been in her* PLACE, *I would* NOT *have complied with the Queen's Demand*, are compared with thoſe before quoted, *I could not endure to have her do any thing that I would not have done in her Place.*

The

The Return of the Queen's Viſit, called with the Scorn familiar to you, a *great Honour* by your Grace, is the next Occurrence you think proper to lay before us; and here Biſhop *Stillingfleet* is employed inſtead of Lord *Rocheſter*, not only to carry a Letter, but to *make uſe of his Credit to ſoften her*: An Expedient in your Grace's Turn, it may be fairly preſum'd to induce the Queen to wave her Point, and leave her Siſter in the quiet Poſſeſſion of her Favourite.

To be impartial, we muſt here beg Leave to inſert her Highneſs's Letters both to your Grace, and the Queen, on this Occaſion, as likewiſe her Majeſty's Anſwer.

The Princeſs to Lady Marlborough.

——— The Biſhop of *Worceſter* was with me this Morning before 'I was dreſs'd. I gave him my Letter to 'the Queen, and he has promiſed to ſe-'cond it, and ſeemed to undertake it very 'willingly: Though by all the Diſcourſe

'I had with him, (of which I will give 'you a particular Account when I ſee you) 'I find him very *partial* to her. The laſt 'Time he was here, I told him you had ſe-'veral Times deſired you might go from 'me, and I have repeated the ſame Thing 'again to him. For you may eaſily ima-'gine, I would not neglect doing you Right 'upon all Occaſions. But I beg it again 'for CHRIST'S JESUS's Sake, that you would 'never name it any more to me. For 'be aſſured, if you ſhould ever do ſo cruel 'a Thing as to leave me, from that very Mo-'ment I ſhall never enjoy one quiet Hour. 'And ſhould you do it without aſking my 'Conſent (which if ever I give you, may I 'never ſee the Face of Heaven) I will ſhut 'myſelf up, and never ſee the World more, 'but live where I may be forgotten by hu-'man Kind.

To the QUEEN.

Sion, the 20th of *May*.

'I have now, GOD be thanked, recovered 'my Strength well enough to go abroad. 'And though my Duty and Inclination

'would

' would both lead me to wait upon your
' Majeſty, as ſoon as I am able to do it,
' yet I have of late had the Misfortune of
' being ſo much under your Majeſty's Diſ-
' pleaſure, as to apprehend, there may be
' hard Conſtructious made upon any Thing
' I either do, or not do, with the moſt
' reſpectful Intentions. And I am in doubt
' whether the ſame Arguments, that have
' prevailed with your Majeſty to † for-
' bid People from ſhewing their uſual Re-
' ſpects to me, may not be carried ſo much
' farther, as not to permit me to pay my
' Duty to you. That, I acknowledge,
' would be a great Encreaſe of Affliction to
' me; and nothing but your Majeſty's own
' Command ſhall ever willingly make me
' ſubmit to it. For, whatever Reaſon I
' may think in my own Mind I have to
' complain of being hardly uſed, yet I will
' ſtrive to hide it, as much as poſſible. And
' though I will not pretend to live at the
' *Cockpit*, unleſs you would be ſo kind

† Her Grace has already told us that all Company had been forbid waiting on the Princeſs, and likewiſe that her Guards had been taken away. p. 75.

'as to make it eaſy to me, yet wherever I 'am, I will endeavour always to give the 'conſtant Marks of Duty and Reſpect, which 'I have in my Heart for your Majeſty, as 'becomes

Your Majeſty's
very affectionate Siſter,
and Servant,
ANNE.

To this the Queen returned the following Anſwer.

To the PRINCESS.

'I have received your's by the Biſhop of '*Worceſter*, and have very little to ſay to 'it; ſince you cannot but know, that as I 'never uſed Compliments, ſo now they will 'not ſerve.

'Tis none of my Fault, we live at this 'Diſtance, and I have endeavoured to ſhew 'my Willingneſs to do otherwiſe. And I 'will do no more. Don't give yourſelf 'any unneceſſary Trouble: For be aſſured 'it is not Words can make us live together 'as we ought. You know what I required 'of you. And I now tell you, if you

'doubted

'doubted it before, that I cannot change
'my Mind, but expect to be complied
'with, or you muſt not wonder if I doubt
'of your Kindneſs. You can give me no
'other Marks, that will ſatisfy me. Nor
'can I put any other Conſtruction upon
'your Actions than what all the World
'muſt do that ſees them. Theſe Things
'don't hinder me being very *glad* to hear
'you are ſo well, and *wiſhing* you may
'continue ſo; and that you may yet,
'while 'tis in your Power, *oblige* me to be
'your affectionate Siſter

MARIE R.

The Princeſs to *Lady* Marlborough.

'I am very ſenſibly touched with the Miſ-
'fortune that my dear Mrs. *Freeman* has had
'of loſing her Son, knowing very well what
'it is to loſe a Child: but ſhe knowing my
'Heart ſo well, and how great a Share I bear
'in all her Concerns, I will not ſay any more
'on this Subject, for fear of renewing her
'Paſſion too much.

'Being now at Liberty to go where I
'pleaſe by the Queen's refuſing to ſee me, I
'am

'am mightily inclined to go To-morrow, 'after dinner, to the *Cockpit*, and from thence 'privately in a Chair to ſee you, ſome Time 'next Week. I believe it will be Time for 'me to go to *London* to make an End of that 'Buſineſs of *Berkley*-Houſe.

'The Biſhop brought me the Queen's 'Letter early this Morning, and by that little 'he ſaid, he did not ſeem ſo well ſatisfied 'with her, as he was Yeſterday. He has 'promiſed to bear me Witneſs, that I have 'made all the Advances that were reaſonable. 'And I confeſs, I think, the more it is *told* 'about, that I would have waited on the 'Queen, but that ſhe refuſed ſeeing me, it 'is the better; And therefore I will not ſcruple 'ſaying it to any Body, when it comes in my 'Way.

'There were ſome in the Family, as ſoon 'as the News came this Morning of our 'Fleet's beating the *French*, that adviſed the 'Prince to go in the Afternoon to compli-'ment the Queen. And another aſked me, 'if I would not ſend her one? but we nei-'ther of us thought there was any Neceſſity

'of

'of it then, and much leſs ſince I received 'this *arbitrary* Letter. I don't ſend you the 'Original for Fear any Accident may happen 'to the Bearer: For I love to keep ſuch Let-'ters by me for my own Juſtification. Sure 'never any Body was ſo uſed by a Siſter! but 'I thank GOD I have nothing to reproach 'myſelf withal in this Buſineſs, but the more 'I think of all that has paſſed, the better I 'am ſatisfied. And if I had done otherwiſe, 'I ſhould have deſerved to have been the Scorn 'of the World, and to be trampled upon as 'much as my Enemies would have me.

'Dear Mrs. *Freeman* farewel. I hope in 'CHRIST you will never think more of 'leaving me, for I would be ſacrificed to do 'you the leaſt Service, and nothing but Death 'can ever make me part with you. For if it 'be poſſible I am every day more and more 'yours.

'I hope your Lord is well. It was Mr. '*Maul* and Lady *Fitzharding* that ad-'vis'd the Prince and me to make our 'Compliments to the Queen.

I muſt

I muſt now obſerve, that your Grace call'd the Queen's Letter harſh and peremptory, the Princeſs an arbitrary one; and every Body elſe muſt allow it to be very different from that ſhe ſent when this Miſunderſtanding firſt broke out. Very different indeed it is; but, before any farther Cenſure is paſs'd upon it, it ought to be recollected, that the Quarrel had now been of ſome Continuance; that many inflammatory Circumſtances had added Fuel to the Fire; that the Siſter, who inſiſted on being obeyed, was Queen; that the Struggle, in effect, lay between her Majeſty and Lady *Marlborough*; that ſomething is to be allowed for the Frailties inſeparable from human Nature; that the King's Will was uniformly a Law to his Royal Conſort; and that, if the Queen was influenced to be rather too rigid on one hand, the Princeſs was ſpirited up to be rather too obſtinate on the other; as is evident from the two following Letters from her Highneſs, *expoſed* by your Grace, to ſhew that the Prince her Husband had the Complaiſance to be of her Mind in all Things; and introduced with

a freſh Comment on the OBLIGATIONS conferred by Lord and Lady *Marlborough* on the Princeſs of *Denmark*.

To Lady Marlborough.

' I really long to know how my dear ' Mrs. *Freeman* got home; and now I have ' this Opportunity of writing, ſhe muſt give ' me leave to tell her, if ſhe ſhould ever be ' ſo cruel to leave her faithful Mrs. *Mor-* ' *ley*, ſhe will *rob* her of all the *Joy* and ' *Quiet* of her *Life*; for if that Day ſhould ' come, *I could never enjoy a happy Minute,* ' *and I ſwear to you I would ſhut myſelf up,* ' *and never ſee a Creature.* You may ea- ' ſily ſee all this would have come upon ' me, if you had not been. If you do ' but remember what the Q. ſaid to me ' the Night before your Lord was *turned* ' *out* of ALL; then ſhe begun to pick ' Quarrels; and if they ſhould take off ' twenty or thirty thouſand Pound, have I ' not lived upon as little before? When I

' was

'was first married we had but twenty (IT IS 'TRUE INDEED THE KING WAS SO 'KIND TO PAY MY DEBTS) and if it 'should come to that again, what Retrench-'ment is there, in my Family, I would 'not willingly make, and be glad of that 'Pretence to do it. Never fancy, dear 'Mrs. *Freeman*, if what you fear should 'happen, that you are the Occasion; no, I 'am very well satisfied, *and so is the Prince 'too*, it would have been so however, for 'is capable of doing nothing but 'Injustice; therefore rest satisfied, you are 'no Ways the Cause; and let me beg once 'more, for GOD's sake, that you would 'never mention parting more, no nor so 'much as think of it; and if you should 'ever leave me, be assured it would *break* 'your faithful Mrs. *Morley*'s *Heart*.

Friday Morning.

'I hope my dear Mrs. *Freeman* will 'come as soon as she can, this Afternoon, 'that we may have as much Time toge-'ther, as we can; I doubt you will think

'me

'me very unreaſonable for ſaying this, 'but I really long now to ſee you again, as 'much as if I had not been ſo happy this 'Month.

To Lady Marlborough.

'In OBEDIENCE (how ſtrange a Phraſe? 'how much did her Highneſs forget herſelf?) 'to dear Mrs. *Freeman, I have told the 'Prince all ſhe deſired me, and he is ſo far 'from being of another Opinion, if there 'had been Occaſion he would have ſtreng-'thened me in my Reſolutions, and we both 'beg you would never mention ſo cruel a 'thing any more.* Can you think either of 'us ſo wretched, that for the ſake of 'TWENTY THOUSAND POUND, and to 'be tormented from Morning to Night 'with flattering Knaves and Fools, we 'ſhould forſake thoſe, we have ſuch OBLI-'GATIONS to, and that we are ſo certain 'we are the Occaſion of all their Misfor-'tunes? Beſides, can you believe we will 'truckle to who from the 'firſt Moment of his coming has uſed us

'at that Rate, as we are ſenſible he has
'done, and that all the World can witneſs,
'that will not let their Intereſt weigh more
'with them, than their Reaſon? But ſup-
'poſe I did ſubmit, and that the King
'could change his Nature ſo much, as to
'uſe me with Humanity, how would all
'reaſonable People deſpiſe me? How would
'laugh at me and pleaſe him-
'ſelf with having got the better? And which
'is much more, how would my Conſcience
'reproach me for having ſacrificed it, my
'Honour, Reputation, and all the ſubſtan-
'tial Comforts of this Life for tranſitory
'Intereſt, which even to thoſe which make
'it their Idol, can never afford any real Sa-
'tisfaction, much leſs to a virtuous Mind?
'No, my dear Mrs. *Freeman*, *never believe*
'your faithful Mrs. *Morley* will EVER
'SUBMIT. She can wait with Patience for
'a Sunſhine Day, and if ſhe does not live
'to ſee it, yet ſhe hopes *England* will flou-
'riſh again. Once more give me leave to
'beg you would be ſo kind never to ſpeak
'of parting more; for let what will hap-
'pen,

pen, that is the only Thing can make me miſerable.

Tueſday Morning.

Your Grace's liberal Complaints of the ill Treatment you received from thoſe you had ſerv'd and oblig'd, both now, while under the Frown of Q. *Mary*; and afterwards, when become equally the Abhorrence of her Siſter Queen *Anne*, indicate, that your Senſe of Injuries, whether real or imaginary, was as quick as it has been laſting. But Offences of this kind are as old as the World, and will be committed as long as that endures. Who was ever poſſeſs'd of Power, that had not Reaſon likewiſe to complain of having laviſh'd the Benefits of it upon Undeſervers? If your Grace's Royal Benefactreſs had kept a Journal of the Favours ſhe beſtowed, and the Returns ſhe met with, what a Satire it would have prov'd upon human Nature? And how much Reaſon has your Grace, in particular, to be thankful that ſhe had too much Magnanimity to remember the Good ſhe had done, and too

much Chriſtianity to record the Evil ſhe had ſuffered?

But to return,

Your Grace ſeems to have learn'd another Secret from the Painters, which is the Art of contraſting your Figures: Thus, as you yourſelf are every where the Angel of your Piece, my Lord *Rocheſter* is uniformly mark'd out to be the Devil. A Letter from his Lordſhip to the Princeſs, has ſet your happy Pencil to work, in a manner inimitable to any common Hand; and, indeed, impoſſible to be conceived by any Genius beneath your Grace's. . . . . But, before we examine the CARRACATURE, let us caſt an Eye upon the LIFE.

The LIFE.

The Earl of ROCHESTER *to the* PRINCESS.*

MADAM,

'I am afraid, I may be guilty of too 'great Preſumption in giving your Royal 'High-

* Query, *How came her Grace by this Letter?*

'Highneſs the Trouble of a Letter; but I
'do it with ſo *good Intentions*, that I hope
'you cannot be angry with me for it.
'And now that one is *unhappily* reſtrain-
'ed from the Honour of *waiting* upon your
'Royal Highneſs, there is no other way
'but *this* to make an *Offer* of my *humble*
'*Duty* to you. It is a very uncomfortable
'Reflection for me to make, that being ſo
'*really concerned*, as I am ſure I am, for
'your Royal Highneſs's *Happineſs*, I
'ſhould be ſo *unfortunate* as to be wholly
'*uſeleſs* to you, at a Time, when your
'Royal Highneſs cannot but think your-
'ſelf, that you have *Uſe* of every Bo-
'dy, that are *truly* and *faithfully* your
'Servants. And however I have been ſo
'*miſtaken* in my *Judgment*, as to have ne-
'ver offered any Thing to your Royal
'Highneſs worth your *Approbation*, I do,
'with all Humility, ſubmit my poor O-
'pinion to that of your Royal Highneſs;
'but beg you to believe, it is not *Flattery*
'to any Body elſe, nor any *other Conſi-*
'*deration* that has made me be of the

'*Mind* I was; but only the want of 'a *better Underſtanding*, to be able to think 'of ſomething *more* for your *Service*. And 'being thus *incapable* of *myſelf* to pro-'poſe any thing that is agreeable to you, 'I take this Occaſion humbly to offer to 'your Royal Highneſs all the little Service 'you may judge me *fit* to be employed in, 'and *moſt earneſtly* to *beſeech* you to be-'lieve, that if I can be of any *Uſe* in the 'World to your Royal Highneſs, there is 'nothing that I would endeavour with 'greater Satisfaction to myſelf, than at 'this Time to expreſs the *great Concern*, 'I preſume to ſay I have, for your Royal 'Highneſs, by any thing that I can do for 'your Service. And if any thing I have 'taken the Confidence to ſay be worth 'your taking notice of, the *leaſt Signifi-'cation* of your Pleaſure will bring me at 'all Times to receive the Honour of any 'of your Commands; and the Duty, and 'Zeal and Paſſion, I have for your *true* 'Intereſt and Proſperity, will, I hope, 'make ſome Amends for the Want of a

'*bet-*

'*better Judgment* and *Capacity*, which I
'acknowledge *every Body* has a greater Share
'of than,

MADAM,

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS's

moſt obedient, and

moſt dutiful Servant,

ROCHESTER.

The CARRACATURE.

'I cannot help thinking, that there is
'ſomething very ABSURD in the *affected*
'*Modeſty* and *profound Reſpectfulneſs* of this
'Letter; where his Lordſhip owns, that
'every Body has more Judgment and Ca-
'pacity than he, and, with all Humility,
'ſubmits his poor Opinion to that of her
'Royal Highneſs, and at the ſame time,

' lets her know, that this *poor Opinion*,
' which he ſo *ſubmits*, ſhall entirely *go-*
' *vern* him in his Behaviour towards her.
' And the perfect ſelf-Approbation he diſ-
' covers, after lamenting the Miſtake of
' his Judgment, is no leſs RIDICULOUS.
' For he plainly intimates ſome Expecta-
' tion, that ſhe will ſend for him again,
' and confeſs the Wiſdom of the SENSELESS
' Advice he had given her. I make no
' ſcruple to call his Lordſhip's Advice SENSE-
' LESS. For how unworthy ſoever he might
' think me of the extraordinary Affection
' the Princeſs had for me, he could not
' hope (unleſs he were really the *Simpleton*
' he ſays he is) [FOOL *would have agreed*
better with the reſt of the Colouring of this
Piece] ' that what had lately happened,
' would be a Means to cure her of it in any
' Degree; and he muſt know, that *while*
' *ſhe retained that Affection, ſhe* COULD
' NOT PART WITH ME, *without* EX-
' TREME UNHAPPINESS *to herſelf.* And
' what had he to propoſe, as a Compenſa-
' tion to her for this UNHAPPINESS? Not

' the

'the *inward Satisfaction*, nor the *outward* '*Glory* of having obeyed any Law of God 'or of the Land, by removing me from her; 'but only the *empty* Advantage of putting 'an End to their Majeſties *open* Diſpleaſure 'with her; a Diſpleaſure, which did her no 'real Hurt, and which, being ſo occaſioned 'as it was, gained her Credit with every 'Mortal that had a Heart.'

To be able to cream over the Gall of the Heart with the Honey of the Tongue, or convey the moſt bitter Meaning in the moſt pleaſing Words, has been hitherto held the diſtinguiſhing Characteriſtic of a Court-bred Wit; and how incomparably your Grace has ſucceeded in that happy, envy'd Art, is obvious from the maſterly Specimen juſt quoted.—But however *delicate* your Grace's Touches muſt be allowed, I cannot help thinking that your Out-line is not altogether blameleſs; as, I think, is demonſtrable from the following *plain* and *faithful Portrait*.

His Lordſhip believes his firſt Reſpects to be due to the Queen, yet retains the ſame Diſpoſition to be ſerviceable to the Princeſs:

Tho' he could not wait upon her, he begs Leave to correſpond with her. He laments to find himſelf uſeleſs, when a *true Friend* might be moſt uſeful to her. If miſtaken in his Judgment, he ſubmits it to that of her Highneſs; and inſinuates, that his Miſtake aroſe from no ſelf-intereſted Conſideration; But, tho' incapable to adviſe, he is ready to obey; ſolicites her Highneſs's Commands in the moſt earneſt Manner, hopes his Zeal will atone for all other Defects; and ſince her Highneſs has preferred every Body's Councils to his, takes it for granted, in Compliment to her Highneſs, that every Body is better qualified to be her Counſellor than himſelf.

This is the true Drawing, as the Figure appears to my Eye-ſight; in which the ABSURD, the RIDICULOUS, and the SENSELESS, are ſo effectually concealed, that they elude my Obſervation.

But whatever Cauſe of Triumph occurs to your Grace from this charitable Parade over the Aſhes of your *dead* Enemy, it has put your Grace ſo effectually off your Guard, that you have abundantly more expoſed your

own Weakneſs than his. You have before made a *Merit* of preſſing her Highneſs to diſmiſs you from her Service; and here you *give* us to underſtand, that you KNEW ſhe could not do it without EXTREME UNHAPPINESS to herſelf, nor with any *equivalent Advantage*; which is as much as to ſay, it was IMPOSSIBLE FOR HER TO DO IT AT ALL. You add, her Majeſty's *Diſpleaſure* did her no *real Hurt*; and yet, *Page 77.* inſinuate, the Indiſpoſition, as you term it, of her Lying in, was followed by a *Fever, which you believe was, in great Meaſure, cauſed by her Trouble.*

Having finiſhed your diſcreet and polite Comment upon my Lord *Rocheſter*'s Letter, which I cannot help believing was firſt made *Viva-Voce*, in one of your *Tete à Tete*-Scenes with the Princeſs, you proceed to make us acquainted with the Reception it met with from her Highneſs, or rather her *Governeſs*, as follows:

To the Earl of Rocheſter.

'I give you many Thanks for the Com-'pliments and Expreſſions of Service, which

'you make me, in your Letter; which I 'ſhould be much better pleas'd with, than 'I am, if I had any Reaſon to think them 'ſincere.

'It is a great Mortification to me, to find, 'that I ſtill continue under the Misfortune 'of the Queen's Diſpleaſure. I had Hopes, 'in Time, the Occaſion of it would have 'appeared as little reaſonable to the Queen, 'as it has always done to me. And if you 'would have perſuaded me of the Sincerity 'of your Intentions, as you ſeem to deſire, 'you muſt give me leave to ſay, I cannot 'think it very hard for you to convince me of 'it, by the Effects. And till then I muſt 'beg Leave to be excuſed, if I am apt to 'think, this great Mortification, which has 'been given me, cannot have proceeded 'from the * Queen's *own Temper*, who, I 'am perſuaded, is both more juſt in herſelf, 'than that comes to, as well as more kind to

'*Your very affectionate Friend,*

ANNE.

Such

* Her Highneſs herſelf is here an Evidence that the Queen did NOT *want Bowels*.

Such Effect had your Grace's ſpecial Endeavours with the Princeſs, in Favour of Lord *Rocheſter*, been already attended with, and ſuch a Change had been made in her Sentiments, ſince ſhe expreſſed her Senſe of his *good Offices* in her ſecond Letter to the Queen.

What follows for ſeveral Pages in your Grace's *Account*, is a Series of *fooliſh Things*, as you very properly ſtile them; ſuch as, the Pains taken with the Ladies of the Bedchamber, to ſpeak or write to their Relations and Acquaintance not to viſit the Princeſs; the Heroiſm of Lady *Grace Pierpoint*, in refuſing bluntly to comply with the Queen's Command; the Lady *Thanet*'s Letter of Excuſe to her Highneſs; Lord *Nottingham*'s Inſtructions to the Mayor of *Bath*, (remember'd to be a Tallow-Chandler in your Grace's Records) not to accompany the Princeſs to Church in his Formalities; the Meſſage ſent to the Miniſter of St. *James's* Church, forbidding him to lay the Text on her Highneſs's Cuſhion, or take any more Notice of her than other People, *&c.* All which important Particulars are moſt minute-

ly

ly ſpecified, moſt artificially ſet forth, and moſt conſcientiouſly placed, the Affair of Lady *Grace* excepted, to the Account of my Lord *Rocheſter*, tho' your Grace has not condeſcended to aſſign any one Reaſon, or the Shadow of a Reaſon for ſo doing.

We muſt not however forget by the Way, that, perhaps, to ſupply this Defect, your Grace has preſented us with a humorous Compariſon between two Lord Treaſurers: *Rocheſter*, who, to do Honour to his *White Staff*, *made it be carried by his Chair-ſide by a Servant bare-headed*; and *Godolphin*, *who* as *aſhamed* of his Office, *ordered his* White Staff *to be cut ſhorter than ordinary*, that he might hide it, by *taking it into the Chair with him*.

We are likewiſe favoured with a Letter from the Princeſs to your Grace, occaſioned by the Order to the *Tallow-Chandler-Mayor*; the which, for the Introduction's Sake, I ſhall beg Leave to tranſcribe.

To Lady Marlborough.

'Dear Mrs. *Freeman* muſt give me LEAVE

'to

'to aſk her, if any Thing has happened to 'make her *uneaſy*. I thought ſhe LOOKED 'to Night, as if ſhe had the *Spleen*. And 'I can't help being in *Pain* whenever I ſee 'her *ſo*.

'I fancied Yeſterday, when the Mayor 'failed in the Ceremony of going to Church 'with me, that he was commanded not to 'do it. I think 'tis a Thing to be laughed 'at. And, if they imagine to vex me or 'gain upon me by ſuch Sort of Uſage, they 'will be mightily diſappointed. And I hope 'theſe fooliſh Things they do, will every 'Day ſhow People more and more, what 'they are, and that they truly deſerve the 'Name your faithful *Morley* has given them.'

Hitherto the high Crimes and Miſdemeanors ſaid to be committed by my Lord *Rocheſter* againſt her Highneſs, have ſcarce the ſlighteſt Pretence to ſupport them. And all he has really to anſwer for, is the Oppoſition he made to your Grace's being admitted into the Royal Family. But, in your next Paragraph, you fix a Fact upon him; that Fact

is

is properly ſupported, and we have only the uſual Prayer to make, *That his Lordſhip may have a good Deliverance.*

The Bill of Indictment, as drawn by your Grace, with the Help of your Counſel, runs thus.

'After all theſe *notable Efforts* to SUBDUE 'the Princeſs had been employed without 'Succeſs, and when we were got again, as I 'thought, into a ſettled Way, at *Berkley-* 'Houſe, my Lord *Rocheſter* attempted once 'more to bring about HIS PURPOSE, by a '*Stratagem.* He came to Sir *Benjamin Ba-* '*thurſt*, and to others of the Princeſs's Fami- 'ly, inſinuating to them, *that if the Princeſs* '*would* put ME away, *he was* perſuaded, *the* 'Queen *would, in ſome Time, be* prevailed 'upon *to let her take me again*; which was 'altogether *improbable*, and indeed *ridicu-* 'lous: becauſe my only pretended Fault was 'being my Lord *Marlborough*'s Wife, a Fault 'which I could neither excuſe, nor extenu- 'ate, nor repent of.'

Juſt thirty Pages before this, your Grace aſſures us, my Lord *Rocheſter* was *the Queen's Oracle*;

Oracle; *and that, whether he had any Share or not in beginning the ill Uſage of the Princeſs, he was, without Queſtion, the Proſecutor of it.* And it is in Support of this hardy Aſſertion, that all the *fooliſh Things* above hinted at, take up ſo much Room in your Grace's Book. His PURPOSE at that Time, *then*, muſt be underſtood to inflame the Quarrel; and his PURPOSE *now*, it ſeems, is only to PUT YOUR GRACE AWAY; the which, likewiſe, he has ſo much at Heart, that he is even at the Trouble of a *Stratagem*, in order to bring it about. Thus your Grace ſtates the Caſe, and on theſe Premiſſes puts in for a Verdict.——But, in Behalf of the Culprit, I appeal to the Court; whether it is not much more natural to conclude, that his uniform *Purpoſe* was to reconcile the two Siſters; whether both the Princeſs's Letter (I mean her ſecond) to the Queen, *p.* 60. and his Lordſhip's to her, do not make this ſufficiently evident; and laſtly, whether this very *Stratagem* was not calculated to anſwer the ſame innocent and laudable End? —— 'Tis true,

your Grace, with your usual Plainness and Simplicity of Manners, is pleased to treat his Lordship's Insinuation, *That the Queen might be prevailed upon to let the Princess take you again*, as altogether *improbable* and *ridiculous*. But either my Lord *Rochester* was not the Queen's *Oracle*, as your Grace asserts above, or there was nothing either *ridiculous* or *improbable* in his Hope to *prevail* with the Queen to agree to the Expedient he then proposed, as the only one likely to make up the Breach. Nay, 'tis plain, the Princess herself considered it in this Light, and, if the Sequel is literally true, which depends on a double Report of Lady *Fitzharding* from the Queen, and your Grace from her, it only proves that his Lordship's Affection to his two Nieces, had led him to engage for more than he could make good; and that her Majesty was more incensed against Lady *Marlborough*, and the Princess on her Account, than he, till then, believed.

'The Princess considered this Project as 'nothing more than a new *civil Plot* of my 'Lord *Rochester's*. However she was re-

'solved

'ſolved to leave nothing undone on her Part; 'and therefore, knowing that my Lady 'Fitzharding could ſpeak more freely to the 'Queen than any Body elſe whom ſhe could 'employ, ſhe ſent for her and repeated to 'her my Lord *Rocheſter*'s Propoſal, deſiring 'her to acquaint the Queen, *that from what 'his Lordſhip had ſaid, ſhe had been flatter-'ing herſelf, ſhe had miſtaken her Majeſty's 'laſt Words; and that if ſhe might hope his 'Lordſhip had any Ground for his Opinion, 'ſhe ſhould be very ready to give her Majeſty 'any Satisfaction of that Sort.* Upon the 'Delivery of this Meſſage, the Queen fell in-'to a great Paſſion, and ſaid, *her Siſter had 'not miſtaken her, for ſhe never would ſee 'her, upon any other Terms, than parting 'with me, not for a Time, but for ever;* 'adding, *that ſhe was a Queen, and would 'be obeyed.*

'Tis plain however, from the Event, that his Lordſhip judg'd right in *perſuading* himſelf that the Reſentment of the Court was not unappeaſable; ſince his Majeſty was afterwards pleaſed not only to forget Lord *Marlborough*

had ever given him Cauſe of Diſpleaſure, but to take him into Favour again, and, even in a * Manner, that ſhewed the King to be no Stranger to Politeneſs, to entruſt him with the Education of the Duke of *Glouceſter*. Conſequently, if this dreaded Stratagem had taken Place, your Grace's having the Honour to be Lord *Marlborough*'s WIFE, would have been no ſuch inſurmountable Bar, as you are pleaſed to make it, to your being readmitted into your former Station of DOMINEERING over the Princeſs.

But it is moſt remarkable, that, tho' your Grace has dwelt ſo long on your Sufferings in this Reign, you have but juſt mention'd this ‡ *Turn* in your Lord's Affairs; and that by Way of *Parentheſis* only. *(Who was now reſtored to the Army, and was to be Governor to the Duke of* GLOUCESTER) *Account*, p. 126. As if he, who had HAPPENED to be

* According to Mr. *Lediard*, with this Speech, *My Lord! teach him to be but what you are, and my Nephew cannot want Accompliſhments.*

‡ She (the Princeſs) was not made acquainted with public Affairs, *&c.* - - Only PAINS had been taken to pleaſe the Earl of *Marlborough*, with which he was fully ſatisfied: Nothing had contented him better, than the Command he had the former Year of the Troops which were ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the States. *Burnet.*

be in Disgrace, had likewise HAPPENED to *stumble* into Confidence again.

Of this your Grace's Enemies have expressed themselves with some Bitterness; as if you never forgave an Injury, or acknowledg'd a Benefit. But, for my Part, I see it in another Light: For if you had ventured to expatiate on this Particular, it must have been with some Sense of Gratitude to the Memory of King *William*; and this would not have suited with the rest of your Book; in which he is scarce ever mentioned, but as an Usurper, a Brute, and a Tyrant.

I am now to observe, that, tho' Authors seldom fulfil their Promises they make at their Out-set, your Grace has done more: Your first Proposals are only to purge your self from Calumny and Misrepresentation: You give us no Hint of your Design to wreak your Vengeance upon your Enemies. But, in the Progress of your Work, you do both; blacken on one Hand, and blanch on the other: Nay, you go farther still; set your self off with imaginary Perfections, and charge your Enemies with imaginary Faults;

that is to ſay, not only thoſe you would have it believed they had committed, but thoſe they could be guilty of in *Intention* only. — A Fineſſe peculiar to your Grace; and which, in this Age of Controverſy and Invective, when ONE MAN has been made the BUTT of a whole People, I do not remember to have ſeen practiſed before! —— But leſt this likewiſe ſhould be thought an imaginary Charge againſt your Grace, it is neceſſary to ſupport it with a Proof, which will put it beyond the Reach of Contradiction.

'The Princeſs, (ſays your Grace) after 'this, continued at *Berkeley*-Houſe in a very 'quiet Way. For there was nothing *more* 'to be *done*, unleſs THEY would *ſtop* her *Re*-'*venue*, which DOUBTLESS THEY WOULD 'have ATTEMPTED, had THEY thought 'it PRACTICABLE. But my Lord *Godol*-'*phin* was then firſt Commiſſioner of the 'Treaſury, a Man eſteemed very uſeful to 'the Service, and who THEY KNEW, would 'QUIT upon any ſuch ORDERS. And THEY 'COULD NOT eaſily have found a Perſon 'with Qualities fit for that Employment, who

'would

'would have thought it consistent with Ho-
'nour or *Safety* to take a Place, which an-
'other had left upon such an Account; and
'at the same Time *refuse* paying the Reve-
'nue *settled* by an *Act* of *Parliament* on the
'*next Heir* to the Crown.

But this Passage is not remarkable *only* for the Particular above specified. The Word THEY has likewise its Beauties, as being a Master-Piece in the *Spartan* Stile, and in one simple Monosyllable comprehending both KING and QUEEN. Again, what a Glory is here reflected on my Lord GODOLPHIN, who appears to be a Personage of such Importance, that THEY, who presumed to wage War with Lord and Lady *Marlborough*, durst not task his Integrity too far, for fear he should quit, and not another Man in the three Kingdoms should be found able to fill his Place? Indeed how THEY came to know that he, who serv'd in the same Office under a joint Commission, with *Catholics* under *James* II. and then was so entirely a *Financier*, as to continue his Services after the *Revolution*, should grow so untractable all

at once, your Grace has not thought proper to explain; any more, than how it was ſo INDUBITALE that THEY would have STOPP'D a Revenue ſettled by *Act* of *Parliament* on the *next Heir* of the *Crown*, when it was neither *honourable* nor SAFE for any Body to obey ſo unjuſt a Command.

In the next Paragraph but two, we have a civil Meſſage from the Prince to the King, deſiring to know whether a Viſit would be agreeable to his Majeſty on his Return from *Flanders*, notwithſtanding her Highneſs had the Misfortune to lye under the Queen's Diſpleaſure; and as your Grace has taken no Notice of the Reception it met with, we may be *certain* it was as *civilly* anſwered.

We have before had occaſion to compliment your Grace on your Wit, and here it is impoſſible not to do equal Juſtice to your Memory; which, notwithſtanding the great Variety of extraordinary Affairs it has, from Time to Time, been burthened with, could, notwithſtanding, treaſure up ſuch *fooliſh Things*, as follow from hence to the End of this Section of your Book.

Fooliſh,

Fooliſh, however, as they are, we are not but at Liberty to paſs them over in the Lump; here and there ſhall diſtinguiſh ſome *choice* Particulars, which may not be unworthy to be ſerv'd up a ſecond Time, for the Entertainment of the Public.

For Example.

'The Duke of *Glouceſter* alſo waited ſe-'veral Times on her Majeſty, who made a 'great SHOW of Kindneſs to *him*, and gave 'him Rattles, and ſeveral Play-things, which 'were conſtantly put down in the GA-'ZETTE. And whenever the Duke was 'ſick, ſhe ſent a Bed-chamber Woman to '*Camden*-Houſe to enquire how he did. But 'this COMPLIMENT was made in ſo *offen-'ſive* a Manner to the Princeſs, that I have 'often wondered how any Mortal could 'bear it with the Patience ſhe did. For 'whoever was ſent, uſed to come without 'any Ceremony into the Room where the 'Princeſs herſelf was, and paſſing by her, as 'ſhe ſtood or ſat, without taking more No-'tice of her, than if ſhe were a Rocker, go

'directly up to the Duke, and make their 'Speech to him, or to the Nurſe, as he lay 'in her Lap.

'I believe it will be allowed, that there 'was a good deal of *Inſolence* and *Ill-breeding* 'in this Behaviour; and that the Queen 'might, with Safety to all her Dignity, have 'found Means to ſatisfy herſelf about the 'Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Health, without ſuf-'fering to be done to the Princeſs, what no 'Body before ever thought of, and what no 'private Perſon in this Country would bear 'from another. And yet the Return, which 'the Princeſs, when ſhe came to the Crown, 'made to this *Rudeneſs* of the Queen's Wo-'men, was to give them Penſions; a Thing 'which the King himſelf grew weary of 'doing ſome time before he died.'

Your Grace has an admirable Knack of conveying a keen Stroke of Satire in *one Word*; which is ſufficiently exemplified in the Words SHOW, GAZETTE and COM-PLIMENT, in the firſt of the two preceding Quotations: And as to your abundant Cha-rity, it overflows in the Interpretation you

are

are pleaſed to put on the *weighty Incidents* which make up the Subject-matter they treat of.

And that this Interpretation is merely the Effect of this Charity of your's, is plain: Becauſe it is ſcarce to be ſuppoſed that her Majeſty could expect the Princeſs would be always found in her *Nurſery*; and conſequently the *Rudeneſs* and *Inſolence*, complained of ſo FREELY by your Grace, will hardly be thought premeditated by any Body elſe: On the contrary, there is Room for Perſons of equal Charity with your Grace to ſuppoſe, that her *Highneſs* was *induced* to repair thither at the very Times theſe Meſſages were ſent, and theſe Speeches were made, for no other End, but to furniſh out theſe happy Decorations of your Grace's *Memoirs*, and Materials proper for the ſcandalous Chronicle of *thoſe Times*.

I have before had occaſion to mention the Queen's laſt Illneſs, and the Princeſs's Meſſage by a Lady of her Bed-chamber thereon. I am now to take Notice of the Anſwer return'd to it by Lady *Derby*, in a Letter to the

ſame

ſame Lady, with your Grace's Reflections thereon, *&c.*

MADAM,

'I am commanded by the King and 'Queen to tell you, they deſire you would 'let the Princeſs know they both thank her 'for ſending and deſiring to come: But, it 'being thought ſo neceſſary to keep the 'Queen as quiet as poſſible, hope ſhe will 'defer it. I am,

MADAM,

Your LADYSHIP'S

moſt humble Servant,

E. DERBY.

'Pray, Madam, preſent my humble 'Duty to the Princeſs.

'This civil Anſwer, and my Lady *Derby*'s 'Poſtſcript, made ME conclude, more than 'if the College of Phyſicians had told it me, 'that the Diſeaſe was mortal. And as I 'knew that ſeveral People, and even ONE of 'the PRINCESS'S OWN FAMILY, were AL-'LOW'D to ſee the Queen, I was alſo *fully perſuaded*, that the *deferring* the Princeſs's

'coming,

'coming, was *only* to leave Room for *conti-*
'*nuing* the *Quarrel*, in caſe the Queen ſhould
'chance to recover, or for *Reconciliation* with
'the King, (if that ſhould be thought conve-
'nient) in caſe of the Queen's Death.

'During all the Time of the Queen's Ill-
'neſs to her Deceaſe, the Princeſs ſent every
'Day to enquire how ſhe did; and once, I
'am ſure, her Majeſty heard of it; becauſe
'my Lady *Fitzharding*, who was charged
'with the Meſſage, and who had more De-
'ſire than ordinary to ſee the Queen, BROKE
'IN WHETHER THEY WOULD OR NOT,
'and delivered it to her, endeavouring to ex-
'preſs in how much Concern the Princeſs
'was: To which the Queen returned *no*
'*Anſwer* but a *cold Thanks*. Nor, though
'ſhe received the *Sacrament* in her Illneſs,
'did ſhe ever ſend the leaſt Meſſage to the
'Princeſs, except that in my Lady *Derby*'s
'Letter, which *perhaps her Majeſty knew*
'*nothing of*.

'How this Conduct to a Siſter could ſuit
'with the Character of a *devout* Queen, I
'am at a Loſs to know. For there is no-
'thing

'thing more plain in Scripture, than the vth 'Chapter of St. *Matthew*, ver. 23, and 24. '*Therefore if thou bring thy Gift to the* 'Altar, *and there remembreſt that thy Bro-* 'ther *hath aught againſt thee, leave there* 'thy Gift *before the Altar, and go thy way;* 'firſt *be reconciled to thy Brother, and then* 'come *and offer thy Gift.*

'I will ſuppoſe, for Argument Sake, '(though I think it ſcarce poſſible) that the 'Queen might have ſo wrong an Under-'ſtanding, as to think, ſhe had no Repara-'tion to make, and that the Princeſs had 'injured her, in not being her Slave: Yet, 'even in that Caſe, there was ſomething 'omitted; for we are taught *to forgive the* 'Treſpaſſes *againſt us, as we expect to be* 'forgiven.

I have taken the Liberty to treat your Grace, for a few Pages back, ſomewhat ironically; but I now find myſelf under a Neceſſity to put on a more ſerious Brow. You have brought us to the Death-bed of one of the moſt amiable Women, and moſt idoliz'd of Queens, whom you purſued from her

her firſt Step into the Royal Palace as a Sovereign, to her laſt Gaſp, with implacable Hatred; and, carrying your Reſentment even beyond the Grave, have endeavoured to ſhed Poiſon on her Memory, which, notwithſtanding your own avowed Notion of the Value of Fame after Death, you hope to be incurable.

It was ſhrewdly ſaid by a certain noble Lord, that your Book was an Anſwer to itſelf: And who can read the laſt Quotations I have made from it, without being of the ſame Opinion? . . . In one Paſſage, People even of the Princeſs's Family are ALLOW'D to ſee the Queen; and in another, Lady *Fitzharding*, tho' charged with a Meſſage from her Highneſs, is forc'd to BREAK IN, *whether they* WOULD OR NOT: Lady *Derby*'s civil Letter is made a Proof that the Queen's Diſeaſe was *mortal*; and yet a Proviſion is thought of to continue the Quarrel, in caſe ſhe ſhould *chance* to *recover*. Even the ſinking Spirits, feeble Voice, and dying Manner of the Queen in her laſt Agonies, are miſrepreſented under the Term of a COLD

THANKS:

THANKS: Nay, an Act of *Devotion* is made uſe of to aggravate the Charge againſt her; and leſt the Merit of Lady *Derby's* Letter ſhould be aſcribed to her Majeſty *, a PERHAPS is inſerted that SHE KNEW NOTHING of it: Nor do you ſtop here, but take a Hint from her known Piety to pelt her with Texts of Scripture, as if ſelf-condemn'd on her own Principles, and beyond the Reach of *Abſolution.*

Good GOD, Madam! is this *Conduct* of yours agreeable to the Goſpel you quote, to the Innocence and Virtue you pretend to, to the Fame you pant after? Had your Cauſe been ever ſo good, your Sufferings ever ſo notorious, the Purity and Integrity of your Life ever ſo unqueſtionable, how much more decent, more noble, more laudable, and even more prudently would it have been to have drawn a Veil over a Character, which, allowing your Allegations their full Force, was blameable only towards you?

* Contrary to all which, we are aſſured by Biſhop *Burnet*, that the Queen had not only received a kind Letter from, but had ſent a reconciling Meſſage to the Princeſs: *And* SO THAT BREACH WAS MADE UP.

But

But your *Bolt is ſhot*, and Expoſtulation is now fruitleſs. Like *Nero*, to avoid falling into the Hands of your Enemies, you have deſtroyed yourſelf; and there is now no Fear that even the very *Phantom* you threatned us with, will ever haunt the World for the future.

I had once ſome Thoughts of concluding my Reply to your Grace's firſt Section here; but two other remarkable Paſſages call for Juſtice; and Juſtice they ſhall have to a Scruple, if in my Power to beſtow. The firſt is this,

'I confeſs, *for my own Part*, that in the 'Point of *Reſpect to the King (and to the 'Queen when living)* I thought the Princeſs did a great deal *too much*; and it 'often made me very UNEASY. *For I 'could not endure to have her do any Thing, 'that I would not have done in her Place.* 'And all the Friends I ever had in my 'Life would not have prevailed with ME 'to make any *one Step*, the Princeſs did, 'during the Quarrel, except the firſt Let-'ter ſhe wrote to the Queen, and the laſt

'Meſſage of offering to come to her in her 'Sickneſs. But a Letter which the Prin-'ceſs, after the Reconcilement, wrote to the 'King upon the taking of *Namur*, gave 'ME, I think, more CONCERN than any 'other Inſtance of her *Reſpectfulneſs*; tho' 'it was adviſed by three Lords, whoſe *Judg-'ments* all the World valued. It ran 'thus:

SIR,

'Though I have been unwilling to give 'you the Trouble of a Letter upon any 'other Occaſion, yet upon one ſo glorious 'to your Majeſty as the taking of *Namur*, 'I hope you will give me leave to congra-'tulate your good Succeſs, which don't 'pleaſe me ſo much upon any other Ac-'count, as for the Satisfaction, that I am 'ſenſible your Majeſty muſt needs feel in 'this great Addition to the Reputation of 'your Arms. And I beg leave, Sir, to 'aſſure you, that as no Body is more near-'ly concerned in your Intereſts, ſo no Body

'wiſhes,

'wiſhes more heartily for your Happineſs 'and Proſperity at Home than

Your, &c.

ANNE.

Having diſpatched one Siſter, your Grace is now to triumph over the other; and I appeal to the whole Kingdom, if in the Light you have ſtated her Highneſs's Letter, it can be inſerted with any other View, but to teach Poſterity, that * * * Ducheſs of * * * * had more Magnanimity and Royalty of Spirit, than *Anne* Princeſs of *Denmark*, afterwards the Glory of the *Engliſh* Throne, and the Delight of the *Engliſh* People; as well as more Senſe than the THREE Lords who adviſed it, tho' *valued* for their *Judgment* by *all the World*.

But your Grace does not ſeem to be appriz'd that there is an infinite Difference between Greatneſs and Haughtineſs of Mind; and having a very ample Share of one, you made no Difficulty to miſtake it for the other. A very contemptible Creature may

aſſume; only a very enlarged Heart can *forgive*. In this View I cannot help paying infinitely more Honour to the Princeſs in her Condeſcenſions, than to your Grace in your Altitudes.

And now for the ſecond.

'And now, after all I have related of 'the King, *(for ten Pages together)* and 'after ſo much DISLIKE, as I have ex- 'preſſed of his Character and Conduct, you 'will perhaps hardly believe me, in what I 'am going to ſay: Yes, your Lordſhip *will* 'believe me; for you will judge of *my* 'Heart, by the Make and Temper of your *own*. [*God forbid his Lordſhip ſhould grow vain*] 'When the King came to die, I 'felt nothing of that Satisfaction, which I 'once thought I ſhould have had upon this 'Occaſion. And my Lady *Jerſey*'s writ- 'ing and ſending perpetually to give an 'Account, as his Breath grew ſhorter 'and ſhorter, filled ME with *Hor- 'ror*. I thought I would loſe the *beſt* 'Employment in any Court, ſooner than act 'ſo *odious a Part*. And the King, who

'had

' had given me ſo much Cauſe to hate him. In
' that Condition I ſincerely pitied: So little
' is it in my Nature to RETAIN RESENT-
' MENT againſt any Mortal, (how unjuſt
' ſoever he may have been) in whom *the*
' *Will to injure* is no more.

Amazing! your Grace could not only conſider Queen *Mary* in her laſt Moments with Indifference and Unconcern, but with Reſentment and Malignity; and you cannot hear of the King's Breath growing *ſhorter and ſhorter* without *Horror*. How is this to be accounted for? I know but one Way. Your Lord *happened* to be in Diſgrace at Court when Queen *Mary* died. Your Lord *happened* to be in Favour when King *William* died. Very ſufficient Reaſons, no doubt, why a kind of ſavage Officiouſneſs in Lord and Lady *Jerſey* ſhould create Abhorrence; and yet a remorſeleſs Enmity be held irreproachable in Lady * * * * *!

But what is moſt amazing of all, after your Grace has given ſuch inconteſtable Proofs under your Hand, that your Animoſity to Queen *Mary*, tho' of almoſt fifty

Years ſtanding, is ſtill as pungent as ever, you conclude your firſt Section with a grave Panegyric on your ſelf, for being ſo little diſpoſed to *retain Reſentment* againſt any *Mortal*, who was become *Immortal!*

§ II.

§ II.

WE are now to follow your Grace from the Bed-chamber to the Cabinet; from your being merely the Princeſs of *Denmark*'s FAMILIAR, to your being held the evil GENIUS of the whole State: In which Purſuit, whatever Doubles we are forced to make, in order to keep your Grace in Sight, we ſhall be enabled, from the beſt Authorities, both to undeceive the preſent Age, and likewiſe hand down the *Truth* to Poſterity. —— The *Truth*, Madam; not merely the bright Side of a Character; not the over-rated Services of a Junto, or the popular Pretenſions of a Party, which but too generally make up the Bulk of modern Hiſtory.

But, in order to find out what is true, we muſt firſt expoſe what is falſe; I muſt take Leave, therefore, to quote a few of

your firſt Pages entire, for the ſake of the *extraordinary* Things contained in them.

'The King died, and the Princeſs of 'Denmark took his Place. This Elevation of my Miſtreſs to the Throne brought 'me into a new Scene of Life, and into a 'new ſort of Conſideration with all thoſe, 'whoſe Attention, either by Curioſity or 'Ambition, was turned to Politicks and the 'Court. Hitherto my Favour with her 'Royal Highneſs, though it had ſometimes 'furniſhed Matter of Converſation to the 'Publick, had been of no Moment to the 'Affairs of the Nation, ſhe herſelf having 'no Share in the Councils, by which they 'were managed. But from this Time, I 'began to be look'd upon as a Perſon of 'Conſequence, without whoſe APPROBATION, at leaſt, neither *Places*, nor *Penſions*, 'nor *Honours* were beſtowed by the Crown. 'The intimate *Friendſhip*, with which the 'Queen was known to honour me, afforded 'a plauſible Foundation for this Opinion: 'And I believe therefore, it will be a Surprize to many, to be told, That the FIRST

'im-

'important Step, which her Majeſty took, 'after her Acceſſion to the Government, 'was AGAINST my *Wiſhes* and *Inclination*: 'I mean, *Her throwing herſelf and her Af-'fairs* almoſt *entirely into the Hands of 'the* Tories.

'I ſhall dwell the longer, and be the 'more particular upon the Subject of my 'Diſagreement with her Majeſty about Par-'ties, that I may expoſe the *Injuſtice* of 'thoſe Whigs, who, after the great Change 'in 1710, accuſed ME of being the Ruin 'of their Cauſe; a Cauſe, that, in her 'Reign, would have been always too LOW, 'to be capable of a FALL, but for the 'ZEAL and Diligence, with which I 'ſeiz'd every Opportunity to raiſe and eſta-'bliſh it; WHICH, in the End, proved the 'RUIN of my Favour with her Majeſty.

'The Queen had from her Infancy im-'bibed the moſt unconquerable Prejudices 'againſt the Whigs. She had been taught 'to look upon them all, not only as Repub-'licans, who hated the very Shadow of Re-'gal Authority, but as implacable Enemies

'to the Church of *England*. This Averſion
'to the whole Party had been confirmed by
'the ill Uſage ſhe had met with from her
'Siſter and King *William*, which, though
'PERHAPS more owing to Lord *Rocheſter*,
'than to any Man then living, was *now* to
'be all charged to the Account of the
'*Whigs*. And Prince *George* her Huſband,
'who had alſo been ill treated, in that
'Reign, threw into the Scale his Reſent-
'ments.

'On the other hand, the *Tories* had the
'Advantage, not only of the Queen's early
'Prepoſſeſſion in their Favour, but of their
'having *aſſiſted* her in the late Reign, in the
'Affair of her *Settlement*. It was indeed
'evident, that they had done this, more in
'Oppoſition to King *William*, than from
'any real Reſpect for the Princeſs of *Den-*
'*mark*. But ſtill they had *ſerved* her. And
'the Winter before ſhe came to the Crown,
'they had in the ſame *Spirit* of *Oppoſition*
'to the King, and in *Proſpect* of his *Death*,
'paid her more than *uſual* Civilities and
'Attendance.

'It

'It is no great Wonder therefore, all 'theſe Things conſidered, that as ſoon as ſhe 'was ſeated in the Throne, the *Tories* (whom 'ſhe uſually called by the agreeable Name 'of the *Church-Party)* became the diſtin-'guiſhed Objects of the Royal Favour.

'Dr. *Sharp*, Archbiſhop of *York*, was 'pitched upon by herſelf to preach her Co-'ronation Sermon, and to be her chief 'Counſellor in Church-matters; and her 'Privy-Council was filled with Tories. My 'Lord *Normanby* (ſoon after Duke of *Buck-'ingham)* the Earls of *Jerſey* and *Notting-'ham*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, with many 'others of the High-fliers, were brought 'into Place; Sir *Nathan Wright* was con-'tinued in Poſſeſſion of the Great Seal of '*England*, and the Earl of *Rocheſter* in the 'Lieutenancy of *Ireland*. Theſe were 'Men, who had all a wonderful Zeal for 'the Church; a ſort of publick Merit that 'eclipſed all other in the Eyes of the Queen. 'And I am firmly perſuaded, that, notwith-'ſtanding her *extraordinary Affection* for 'me, and the *entire Devotion* which my

'Lord

'Lord *Marlborough* and my Lord *Godol-*
'*phin* had for many Years ſhown to her
'Service, they would not have had ſo *great*
'a Share of her Favour and Confidence, if
'they had not been RECKONED in the
'Number of the *Tories*.

'The Truth is, though both theſe Lords
'had always the real Intereſt of the Nation
'at Heart, and had given Proof of this, by
'their Conduct in their ſeveral Employ-
'ments, in the late Reign, they had been
'EDUCATED in the Perſuaſion, that the
'High-Church Party were the beſt Friends
'to the Conſtitution, both of Church and
'State; nor were they perfectly *undeceived*
'but by *Experience*.

Having, in my Reply to the firſt Section of your Grace's Book, ſufficiently expoſed the Paſſion predominant in it; and pointed out the ſeveral Inſtances in which it breaks forth; I ſhall in this confine myſelf principally to ſuch Points of more general Concern, as either do or muſt make a Figure in our Annals: And among theſe your Grace's Aſſertion, *That the firſt important*

Step

Step her Majeſty took was, againſt your WISHES *and* INCLINATIONS, *to throw herſelf and her Affairs* almoſt *entirely into the Hands of the* TORIES, demands our foremoſt Notice; as containing what your Grace may poſſibly think proper to retract when you recollect the following Speech of the Queen's, which, as you very well know, ſhe delivered the *very Day* of her Acceſſion, (*March* 8th,) to the Council.

'My Lords,

'I am extremely ſenſible of the general 'Misfortune to theſe Kingdoms, in the un-'ſpeakable Loſs of the King; and of the 'great Weight and Burden it brings in par-'ticular to myſelf; which nothing would 'encourage me to undergo, but the great 'Concern I have for the Preſervation of our 'Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of 'my Country. All theſe being as dear to 'me, as they can be to any Perſon what-'ſoever. You may depend upon it that no 'Pains, no Diligence ſhall be wanting on 'my Part, to defend and ſupport them; to

'main-

'maintain the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant 'Line, and the Government in Church and 'State, as it is by Law eſtabliſhed. I think 'it proper, upon this Occaſion of my firſt 'ſpeaking to you, to declare *my* OWN OPI-'NION *of the Importance of carrying on all 'the Preparations we are making to oppoſe 'the great Power of* France. And I ſhall 'loſe *no Time* in giving our Allies all Aſſu-'rances, that nothing ſhall be wanting on 'my Part, to purſue the Intereſt of *Eng-'land*, together with theirs, for the Support 'of the Common Cauſe.'

'In order to theſe Ends, I ſhall be al-'ways ready to aſk the Advice of my Coun-'cil, and of both Houſes of Parliament; 'and deſirous to *countenance* and *employ* 'ALL thoſe who ſhall *heartily concur* and '*join* with me in *ſupporting* and *maintain-'ing* the *Preſent Eſtabliſhment* againſt ALL 'Enemies and OPPOSERS *whatſoever*.

Hence it appears her Majeſty's *firſt Step* was to declare it as her OWN OPINION, that the Preparations for a War with *France* ought to be continued; and whether this

was

was done *againſt* Lady **********s, WISHES and INCLINATIONS, or by the Influence of the *Tory* Miniſtry, not appointed till *afterwards*, let common Senſe judge!

Whoever then prevail'd with the Queen to take this *firſt* Step, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe prevail'd with her to take the SECOND, *viz. The throwing herſelf and her Affairs into the Hands of the Tories:* If then this was not the Reſult of your Grace's Influence, it muſt be neceſſarily aſcrib'd to your Lord; who, in Oppoſition to you, for *once* fell in with the Queen's *Inclinations* to that Party, in order to carry his own favourite Point of being at the Head of the Grand Confederacy as Succeſſor to his late Maſter K. *William*; which is yet farther demonſtrable from Biſhop *Burnet*, whoſe very Words are theſe: 'The Maxim laid down at 'COURT, was, to put the Direction of Af-'fairs into the Hands of the Tories. The 'Earl of *Marlborough* aſſured me, this was 'done upon the *Promiſes* they made to carry 'on the WAR, and to maintain the *Alliances*.

'If

'If they kept these, then Affairs would go on 'smoothly in the House of Commons; but if 'they failed in this, the Queen would put her 'Business into other Hands.

Here then it appears, that the *Tories* were taken in upon the very *Plan* of the *Queen's Speech* in Council; the latter Part of which is to be understood as proposing the very Conditions on which they were to serve; and this *Plan* can be ascribed to no others, but those who were to gain most by putting it in Execution.

'Tis true, your Grace has assured us, that the Lords *Marlborough* and *Godolphin* ow'd the Favour and Confidence they enjoyed to their being RECKON'D; or, as you afterwards explain it, to their being both by *Education and Judgment* TORIES; and that it was *Experience* only which made them otherwise.

If then your Grace was in *earnest* when you first declared this Step to be contrary to your *Wishes* and *Inclinations*, who can help imagining it was done partly with a politic View of keeping the Whigs in hope of

of one Day being taken into your PROTECTION, and by that Means ſupplanting their Adverſaries the Tories? And this is ſo much the more reaſonable to imagine was your Grace's View, ſince the Thing did actually ſome time after come to paſs: In which remarkable Inſtance, you had at once the Glory to triumph over the Prejudices of thoſe two Lords, as well as thoſe of the Queen, and the Power of that whole Party; Whether by your *own* Strength and Sagacity ONLY, will come more ſeaſonably under Conſideration by and by.

I am now to obſerve, that your Grace ſeems reſolved, that this Column which, for ſo many Years, you have been raiſing to your Fame, ſhall no ways be indebted to the good Word of either Party for its Support, for you declare open War with both: And as you are alike ſevere on the Perſons and Principles of the *Tories*, ſo you charge the *Whigs* with *Injuſtice* and *Ingratitude*, and, contemptuouſly repreſent them as *too low*, in that Reign, to be capable of a *Fall*, till exalted by YOU; tho', in Confederacy with you, they

they became afterwards ſo mighty, as not only to gain the Aſcendency in Elections, and to lord it in Parliament, but to eſteem themſelves the Arbiters of the Fate of *Europe*.

There is no Need to comment on all the little Particularities which follow this expreſs Denunciation of your Wrath againſt the Whigs: The bare Diſtinction of them with a particular Character, is all that is neceſſary both to expoſe and anſwer them.

It will be ſufficient to obſerve, upon the Whole, that, as the Queen was ſituated on her Acceſſion to the Throne, ſhe could ſcarce throw herſelf into any other Hands but thoſe of the Tories, or reputed Tories: The Tories had ſerved and countenanced her in the late Reign; ſhe was a Tory herſelf, if it is decent to diſtinguiſh a Sovereign with the Brand of either Party; her prime Counſellors, Lord *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin*, to ſay nothing of Lord *Rocheſter*, her Uncle, were of the ſame Perſuaſion: Theſe Lords had likewiſe contracted their Friendſhips, and placed their Confidence hitherto among thoſe who had imbib'd the like Prejudices with themſelves

and

and a Bargain, as already proved, had been manifeſtly made, to employ ſuch principally; provided they went heartily into Lord *Marlborough*'s Views, of running all Lengths in the Support of a *Land-War*.

I ſay again, Madam, ſuch a Bargain, on ſuch Conditions, was manifeſt: If, therefore, the *Sorrow*, you expreſs in the laſt of the enſuing Paragraphs, *was ſo hearty*, as you would have it believed, it muſt be underſtood as meaning only this; that theſe *Views* of Lord *Marlborough* could not *then* be carried on without the Aſſiſtance of a Party you deſpiſed.

The ſaid Paragraphs run thus:

'For my own Part, I had not the ſame 'Prepoſſeſſions. The *Word CHURCH* 'had never any Charm for *Me*, in the 'Mouths of thoſe, who made the moſt Noiſe 'with it; for I could not perceive that they 'gave any other diſtinguiſhing Proof of their 'Regard for the *Thing*, than a frequent Uſe 'of the *Word*, like a Spell to enchant weak 'Minds; and a perſecuting Zeal againſt Diſ-'ſenters, and againſt thoſe Friends of the

'Church, who would not admit that *Per-*
'*ſecution* was agreeable to its Doctrine. And
'as to State-Affairs, many of theſe Church-
'men ſeemed to me, to have no fixed Prin-
'ciples at all, having endeavoured, during
'the laſt Reign, to undermine that very Go-
'vernment, which they had contributed to
'eſtabliſh.

'I was HEARTILY SORRY therefore, that,
'for the Sake of ſuch Churchmen, others ſhould
'be removed from their Employments, who
'had been firm to the Principles of the Re-
'volution, and whom I thought much more
'likely to ſupport the Queen, and promote
'the Welfare of our Country, than the
'wrong-headed Politicians that ſucceeded
'them.'

Conſidering the Tranſactions of the Year 1710, that your Grace ſhould be angry with the Word *Church* I do not wonder: And that the ſaid Word has been greatly miſtaken by the Fooliſh, and abus'd by the Deſigning, I ſhall not diſpute; but that you undertook to encounter the Queen's Prejudices, or to diſpoſe her Majeſty to think favourably

vourably of the *Whigs*, merely because their Principles were more *rational* than those of the *Tories*, or more tending to the *Preservation of Liberty*, and no way *prejudicial* to the *Established Church*, as you alledge, *p.* 147. requires a stronger Degree of Faith on my Side than I have as yet been bless'd with, or additional Evidence on your Grace's.

'Tis true, Madam, you give us to understand, that when the Queen had determined to create four new Peers, all *Tories*, *viz.* *Granville*, *Guernsey*, *Gower* and *Conway*, you prevailed with her in favour of Mr. *Hervey*, to compliment YOU with a fifth, *in Spite of the Opposition of the Tories*, especially the *Four* in Nomination, who for a *while* REFUS'd *to accept of the Peerage, if a* WHIG *were admitted to the same Honour.* And you likewise produce a Letter from the Queen, to testify that you were really an Advocate for that Party; which, for many Reasons, it may be necessary to insert as follows.

St. James's, Saturday the 24 *Oct.*

'I am very glad to find by my dear Mrs.

'*Freeman*'s, that I was BLEST with Yeſter-
'day, that SHE liked *my Speech*; but I cannot
'help being extremely concerned, you are ſo
'partial to the Whigs, becauſe I would not
'have you, and your poor, unfortunate,
'faithful *Morley* differ in Opinion in the leaſt
'Thing. What I ſaid, when I writ laſt upon
'this Subject, does not proceed from any In-
'ſinuations of the other Party; but I know
'the Principles of the Church of *England*,
'and I know thoſe of the Whigs, and it is
'that, and no other Reaſon, which makes
'me think as I do, of the laſt. And upon
'my Word, my dear Mrs. *Freeman*, you are
'mightily miſtaken in your Notion of a true
'Whig: For the Character, you give of them,
'does not in the leaſt belong to them, but to
'the Church. But I will ſay no more on
'this Subject, only BEG, for my *poor Sake*,
'that you would not ſhow more Countenance
'to thoſe, you ſeem to have ſo much Incli-
'nation for, than to the Church Party.
'Since you have ſtaid ſo long at *Windſor*, I
'wiſh now for your own Sake, that you would
'ſtay till after *my Lord Mayor's Day*; for

'if you are in Town, *you can't avoid going* 'to the *Show*, and being in the Country is a 'juſt Excuſe; and, I think, one would be 'glad of any to avoid ſo troubleſom a Buſi-'neſs. I am at this Time in great Haſte, 'and therefore can ſay no more to my DEAR, 'DEAR Mrs. *Freeman*, but that I am moſt 'paſſionately Her's.

Theſe are the Proofs you are pleaſed to give that you were really in the Intereſt of the *Whigs*: But, Madam, 'tis rather the Motive, than the Fact which is now to be canvaſſed; and in order that this may be done fairly, your Grace ſhall be heard firſt, and then Leave will be taken to put in a *proper Reply*.

'As my early Zeal for the Whigs is incon-'teſtably manifeſt from what her Majeſty 'here ſays to me, ſo, I think, it will be no 'leſs evident to any one who reflects on my 'Situation at that Time, that this Zeal could 'proceed from nothing but *Conviction of the* '*Goodneſs of the Cauſe I eſpouſed*.

'For, as to private Intereſt, the Whigs 'could have done nothing for my Advantage

'more than the Tories. I needed not the Af-
'ſiſtance of either to ingratiate me with the
'Queen. She had both before and ſince
'her Acceſſion, given the moſt unqueſtion-
'able Proofs, that ſhe conſidered me, not on-
'ly as a moſt faithful Servant, but as her
'dear Friend. I have mentioned nothing of
'her *extreme Goodneſs* to ME ſince the Break-
'ing out of the Quarrel between her Siſter
'and her, that I might not interrupt the Re-
'lation of that Matter in which my chief
'Aim was the Juſtification of my Miſtreſs's
'Conduct and my own upon that Occaſion.
'Her Letters to me afterwards (of which I
'have great Numbers ſtill by me) were in
'the ſame Strain of *Tenderneſs* as thoſe you
'have read; and upon her coming to the
'Crown, ſhe had not only made ME her
'Groom of the Stole, and Keeper of the
'Privy Purſe, but had given the Command
'of the ARMY to my Lord *Marlborough*,
'and the TREASURER'S STAFF to my Lord
'*Godolphin*, to whoſe *Son* my eldeſt *Daugh-*
'*ter* was married.

'It

'It is plain therefore that I could have no 'Motive of private Intereſt to biaſs me to 'the Whigs. Every Body muſt ſee, that, 'had I conſulted that Oracle about the Choice 'of a Party, it would certainly have directed 'me to go with the Stream of my Miſtreſs's 'Inclination and Prejudices. This would 'have been the ſureſt Way to ſecure my Fa-'vour with her.

'Nor had I any particular Obligations to 'the Whigs that ſhould bend me to their 'Side rather than to the other. On the con-'trary, they had treated me very hardly, 'and I had reaſon to look upon them as 'my perſonal Enemies, at the ſame Time 'that I ſaw the Tories ready to compliment 'me, and to pay me Court.'

To the ſtrong Expreſſions your Grace has thought fit to uſe on the *Diſintereſtedneſs* of this Preference given by you to the *Whigs*, it is not yet Time to anſwer. I am to take Notice, firſt, That HERE the ſignal Preferments beſtowed on the Lords *Marlborough* and *Godolphin*, are mentioned as beſtowed not in Acknowledgment of their Merits, or

becauſe they were *Tories*, but as FAVOURS to YOU. Whence it follows, that, if they were really *Tories*, it cannot be ſaid, with any Conſiſtency, that the Queen had thrown her Affairs into the Hands of that Party AGAINST your *Wiſhes* and *Inclinations*, as your Grace before aſſerted; nor that you could be *heartily ſorry* ſuch a Diſpoſition had been made; ſince it does not appear you ever preferred the Intereſts of your *Party*, or even of the Kingdom, to that of the *Marlborough*-Family. And if they were THEN SECRETLY *Whigs*, it cannot be ſaid, *with any Conſiſtency*, that the Queen had thrown her Affairs *almoſt entirely* into the Hands of the *Tories*; it being notorious, that almoſt all Power is center'd in the Treaſury and the Army. Whence it is manifeſt the Tories were only *temporiz'd* with, not *confided* in, and theſe Trials of Skill of your Grace with the Queen, were meant but to pave the Way for the Change, which was afterwards brought about.

But you had no Intereſt to ſerve in this Change; the *Whigs* were *low*, the Tories paid their COURT to you, and your own

Turn

Turn was ſerv'd. This is a Brief of the Caſe as ſtated by your Grace; what you would have believed; but ſurely not what you believe yourſelf.

In the firſt Place, it is evident from the Sequel, that your own *Turn* was not *ſerv'd*, or at leaſt not *completely*: It was not the Title, Power, or Pay of General only, that bounded Lord *Marlborough*'s Ambition; his Views extended infinitely beyond them, and he could not but foreſee what Obſtacles the Tories might think it both their Duty or their Intereſt to throw in his Way. Lord *Rocheſter*, the Queen's Uncle, according to your own *Account*, thought he had a Right to the firſt Place in her Majeſty's Favour, and was ever an open Adverſary to your Lord, as well as you; and the whole Party in general, thinking they had a natural Intereſt in the Queen, looked upon her as their Patroneſs, and not Lady ****. They however paid their COURT to YOU, you give us to underſtand, and even Lord *Rocheſter* himſelf condeſcended to write you a *very fine Piece*, to ſolicite a Place for his Daughter: Which only ſerves

to

to prove, that you were already eſteemed to be more a Miſtreſs of the Prerogative than the Queen herſelf; but by no means concludes, you were an abſolute Miſtreſs of the Party; and that you were not, is farther evident from the Difficulty made by the *four Tories* nominated to Peerages, to accept of them, if but *one Whig*, tho' ſupported by your Grace, was ſuffered to ſhare in the ſame Honour.

Here then is a ſufficient Proof that the *Tories* looked upon themſelves as independently eſtabliſhed in her Majeſty's good Graces, and therefore under no immediate Neceſſity to truckle meanly to any Favourite whatever: Whereas, on the contrary, the *Whigs* could aſpire to that Diſtinction by no other Way, nor could hold it by any other Tenure: And whether it would ſuit beſt with a Perſon of Lady * * * * *'s Turn to admit of *Rivals*, if it was poſſible to ſubſtitute Vaſſals in their Place, let the World judge!

But 'tis Time to quit Altercations, to come to Facts: In the Detail of which, I deſign to diveſt myſelf as much as poſſible of Prejudice,

judice, and to ſet forth all I know, or can diſcover, as becomes a Perſon who has neither Hopes nor Fears. As a Proof of which, I muſt take Leave to premiſe, that, whatever Party prevailed, Faction has always had the Direction of our Councils; and it has been utterly impracticable for any Man, however great, wiſe or honeſt, to be admitted into the Service of the Crown, or rather the Miniſtry, without Compliances, that he could neither reliſh nor juſtify. A Miſchief ever to be lamented, and, for what yet appears, never to be cur'd!

In purſuance of her Majeſty's Speech before quoted, and agreeable to the long-concerted Project of Lord *Marlborough* (who had already been ſent to the *Hague* to play the *Stadtholder* there) a Council was held *May* 2d, in which a Motion was made for declaring War with *France*, and puſhing it with our *whole Strength*, which was warmly ſupported by thoſe who were for making court to the Favourites. But my Lord *Rocheſter* was not altogether of that Sentiment; and, in particular, ſet forth, that

that the Cauſes aſſigned for this dangerous Meaſure did not come home to us; that the moſt Chriſtian King's ſeizing the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, we had in a Manner juſtified him in, by acknowledging his Grandſon as King of *Spain*: That his ſeizing *Cadiz*, *Milan*, the *Spaniſh* Netherlands, and the *Weſt-Indies*, were but proper Precautions for ſecuring the Poſſeſſion of that Crown: That it was true, theſe were Steps of great Concern both to the *Emperor* and the *Dutch*; but that they affected us more remotely; and ſcarce at all, if theſe Powers were able by themſelves to make good their Frontier: That if, for fear of the worſt, we were obliged to become Parties, the furniſhing 10,000 Men to the States, in virtue of a Treaty ſtill ſubſiſting between us, would be a very ſufficient Aid, and a full Equivalent to our Share of the Quarrel; which was immediately no more than the Affront offered to us, by the *French* King's acknowledging the Pretender as King of *England*, *&c.* and what a very little Addreſs, at this Criſis, would procure a very ample Reparation

tion for: That however, if we reſolved to embroil ourſelves a-new, it ought rather to be as Auxiliaries than Principals; rather by Sea than Land. In ſupport of which Opinion, he urg'd, with great Strength of Reaſon, the infinite Expence, and diſproportionable Succeſs of our laſt Enterprizes on the Continent; which were manifeſtly calculated to advantage the *Dutch* more than ourſelves; the annual Difficulties and Animoſities they occaſioned; the Grievance they were eſteemed, and the Burden of Debts they had encumbered us with; which were ſtill, and ſtill likely to remain, uncancelled: His Lordſhip farther made it appear, that, what with the Charge of Embarkations, Difference of Pay, *&c.* a Land-war would coſt us, in almoſt every Branch, double the Money it would coſt any other Power in the Confederacy; and that, therefore, if we meddled with the Continent at all, which he was far from holding either neceſſary or expedient, it would be moſt adviſeable to furniſh our Contingent in Money, (*Germany* ſwarming with Men) by which Means

the

the Charge would be known and fix'd, and both the Hazard, and every other Diſadvantage would be manifeſtly leſs. But his Lordſhip's principal Drift was to ſhew, that Land-Wars were none of our Province; that the Sea was our only Element; that there we could indeed make it a common Cauſe; and by the ſame Means, both advantage ourſelves, and diſtreſs the Enemy; that it was the miſtaken, or corrupt Policy of a late Reign to make the *French* formidable at Sea: But that we had ſince ſeen ſufficient Reaſon to lament ſo fatal a Meaſure: That *La Hogue* had, in Part, reduced this new Pretender to the Sovereignty of the Ocean; and that, if a proper uſe was made of the intended Rupture, her preſent Majeſty might have the Glory to finiſh the reſt: That univerſal Commerce would be a Balance for univerſal Empire; and that if the *whole Strength* of theſe Kingdoms was exerted as Nature deſigned it ſhould, it would be much more eaſy for us to attain the firſt, than *Louis le Grand* to compaſs the laſt.

Theſe were the plain, ſelf-evident, and I hope, honeſt Politics of Lord *Rocheſter*; and your Grace very well knows how ill they were *reliſhed* by L. *Marlborough*; who, ſenſible they ſtruck at the very Root of his favourite Scheme, oppoſed them with his whole Weight and Intereſt: And tho' he had little to urge in anſwer; But that we were bound in Honour to make good the late King's Engagements; that it ſuited better with the *Grandeur*, *Importance*, and *Glory* of her Majeſty to be at the Head of the Confederacy, than to be conſidered only as a Supplement to it; and that nothing leſs than ſuch a vigorous Meaſure would diſarm *France* of her preſent Terrors; yet being ſeconded by the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire*, (that very Duke of *Devonſhire* ſneer'd at for his *magnificent* Air in your Grace's firſt Section) the Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord *Godolphin*, and as many more as made a Majority, the laſt of theſe Cabinet-Rivals carried the Day; the Conſequences of which were, that War was * declared

* The Cauſes expreſt in the Declaration were, That the late King *William* had, by the repeated Advice of Parliament,

clared the 4th of *May*, and Lord *Godolphin* was honoured with the Treaſurer's Staff the 6th.

Your Grace has been pleaſed to *record*, that my Lord *Rocheſter* was a *great Man* among the *Tories*: If, therefore, this great Man thus *early* oppos'd my Lord *Marlborough* at the Council-Board, it muſt be as ſoon, and actually was, apprehended, that he might in Time influence thoſe of his Party in either Houſe to do the ſame. Here then

ment, entered into Alliances with the *Emperor*, *States-General*, and other Potentates, for preſerving the Liberty and Balance of *Europe*, and reducing the exorbitant Power of *France*; becauſe of the *French* King's unjuſtly taking and keeping Poſſeſſion of great part of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, exerciſing an abſolute Authority over all that Monarchy; ſeizing *Milan*, and the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, by his Armies; making himſelf Maſter of *Cadiz*, of the Entrance into the *Mediterranean*, and of the Ports of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*; deſigning to invade the Liberty of *Europe*, and to obſtruct the Freedom of Navigation. And whereas, inſtead of giving juſt Satisfaction, he has added the Indignity and Affront of declaring the pretended Prince of *Wales*, King of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, and has influenced *Spain* to concur in the ſame: Therefore for maintaining the public Faith of Treaties, for vindicating the Honour of the Crown, and for the preventing the Miſchiefs which all *Europe* is threatned with, her Majeſty declared War againſt *France* and *Spain*, by Sea and Land; and forbad all Communication and Correſpondence with *France* or *Spain*, or their Subjects; but promiſed Protection to the Perſons and Eſtates of the Subjects of *France* and *Spain*, in her Majeſty's Dominions, who ſhall demean themſelves dutifully.

is the Reaſon, why in Point of *Intereſt*, you had Cauſe to be apprehenſive of the *Tories*, and conſequently, why you ſhould from henceforward open a Door for Admittance to the Whigs.

That I may clear the Way as I go, I am now obliged to return to your Grace; tho' in ſo doing, I am aware my Performance will reſemble the Tragi-Comedies formerly in Vogue; or perhaps may approach almoſt as near to Farce on one Hand, as Hiſtory on the other.

I have already ſeen Cauſe to mention that Lord *Rocheſter* had condeſcended to write you a *very fine Piece*, according to your Grace's arch Expreſſion, to deſire that Lady *Dalkeith*, his Daughter, might be made a Lady of the Bed-chamber; on which Occaſion you expreſs the *Greatneſs* of your *Surpriſe*; thank GOD for your *Proneneſs* to *forgive* your *Enemies*; renew your Charge againſt his Lordſhip of having perſecuted you *without a Cauſe*; declare that *Want of Bread* could not have *induced* you to aſk a *Favour* of one you had *injured*; ſlide in

by way of Reflection,—*But ſurely his Lordſhip had ſomething very uncommon in his Temper*; and, in the End, give us to underſtand, that his *Requeſt* was refuſed.

But firſt we are told, that Lady *Hyde*, his Son's Wife, having before applied to you for a like *Favour*, YOU had thought it REASONABLE to GRANT it; tho' you aſſign one of the oddeſt *Reaſons* for it imaginable, *viz. For in your Life you never ſaw any Mortal have ſuch a Paſſion for any Thing, as ſhe had to be in this Poſt. While the Thing was depending, ſhe had ſo much Concern upon her, that ſhe never ſpoke to* YOU *without Bluſhing. And after it was granted, ſhe made* YOU *more* EXPRESSIONS *than ever you had from any Body on any Occaſion.* An excellent Picture of artleſs, innocent, feminine Ambition! The Effect of which the ſimply-grateful Letter you *expoſe* from her Ladyſhip cannot leſſen, nor the * Reflection ſo haughtily inſinuated at the End of it, efface!

But your Grace proceeds to account why

* 'In what Manner this Lady treated me afterwards, is 'not worth while to mention.' *Account*, p. 145.

my

my Lord *Rocheſter*'s Requeſt was refuſed, in the following Manner.

'As to my Lord *Rocheſter*'s Requeſt in 'Behalf of my Lady *Dalkeith*, it could not 'be granted; becauſe in Reality there was no 'Vacancy. The Queen had reſolved to 'have no more than TEN Ladies, and the 'Number was complete. There had in-'deed been ELEVEN for ſome ſhort Time; 'but this had been occaſioned by the Ducheſs 'of *Somerſet*'s declining to accept one of 'theſe Places, when it was offered her at the 'ſettling of the Queen's Family, and ſoon 'after *deſiring* to have it, when they were 'all filled. As ſhe was the FIRST Proteſ-'tant Ducheſs of *England*, ‖ PERSUADED 'the Queen to be pleaſed, in COMPLIMENT 'to her Grace, to have eleven Ladies for the 'little Time Lady *Charlotte Beverwaert* had 'to live, who was then irrecoverably ill. So 'that when her Majeſty complied, it was 'with full Purpoſe that the Number of her 'Ladies ſhould be only *ten* after Lady *Char-'lotte*'s Death.'

Thus it appears the Queen could recede from her Syſtem at your Grace's PERSUASION in Favour of the FIRST DUCHESS, but not in Favour of her FIRST COUSIN. *without it:* Which is the Subſtance of the whole Page before us. — But this, Madam, is only your Way of telling your Story. According to others, Lady *Dalkeith* was rejected, for Fear the MARLBOROUGH-FAMILY ſhould be oppos'd in the Bed-chamber, as well as the Cabinet, by THAT of the QUEEN.

Had your Grace, however, ſtopt here, perhaps your Apology might have held: But, unfortunately, having ſtill another Shaft to dart at Lord *Rocheſter*, you let it fly, and it recoils upon yourſelf.

'I have been the more particular on this 'Affair, that it may appear, the Refuſal my 'Lord *Rocheſter* met with was not owing to 'any Reſentment of MINE againſt him or his 'Family. [And I do aſſure you moſt ſincere-'ly, that I could ſo entirely have forgotten 'all his Lordſhip's ill Treatment of me, as to 'have acted in CONCERT and FRIENDSHIP 'with him, if I had thought he would have 'followed

'followed the QUEEN'S TRUE INTE-
'REST.'

Here the whole Secret is out. Would my Lord *Rocheſter* have been prevailed upon to have *caball'd* it with your Grace, and to have reckon'd the TRUE INTEREST OF THE QUEEN to be that of the MARLBOROUGH-FAMILY, in all Probability he had carried this Point, or any other; and, over and above, might have been complimented with a Statue in the *Temple of Fame*, raiſed by that ſurprizing Genius, *S*—— D—— of *M*——.

But it was his Lordſhip's Misfortune to ſee Things in a different Light; and the Merit of not ſacrificing his Conſcience to his Intereſt, was all he had to compenſate what he loſt while he liv'd, and is all that remains to put into the Balance againſt your Grace's immortal Reſentments on that Account.

The only general Uſe that can be made of this Detail, is to remind the Reader of theſe two Things, *viz.* That the Ducheſs of *Somerſet*'s Huſband had given his Vote in Council agreeable to the Projects of Lord *Marl-*

borough, and Lady *Dalkeith*'s Father had *oppoſed* them.

To return now to our public Affairs.

To come partly into Lord *Rocheſter*'s Politics, not becauſe they were his, but becauſe they agreed moſt with the Inclinations of the People, it had been reſolved in Council, to proſecute the War with equal Vigour both by Sea and Land; and, to countenance this Reſolution, as well as manifeſt their own Forwardneſs in the common Cauſe, the *States* ordered a Fleet to be fitted out with all imaginable Expedition, to act in Concert with that of *England*. Which arrived at *Portſmouth*, ſays BURNET, invidiouſly, a Month before our's was ready. He ſhould have ſaid, before the Army, Artillery, *&c.* could be embark'd, and ſo vaſt a Body put in Motion.

But it is neceſſary to obſerve once for all, that as the Sea-Service was, during this whole War, conſidered as ſubordinate to the Land, ſo moſt of our Time-ſerving Hiſtorians have decry'd our Naval Exploits as much as poſſible, in order to throw an additional

Glory on our Favourite Captain-General, who was to be the *ſole* Hero of their Story; which was likewiſe look'd upon to be the more neceſſary, ſince Sir *George Rook*, who had the Command of the Fleet, was not of the *Marlborough*-Faction, nor could be prevailed upon to bow down to the *Court-Idol*.

He had likewiſe no Opinion of the intended Expedition, and expreſſed his Sentiments upon it freely; which gave Occaſion to his Enemies to brand him with being the wilful Cauſe of its ill Succeſs; as if any Man, however unconcerned for the Intereſt and Glory of his Country, would be mad enough to ſacrifice his own.

Even before he ſet Sail, one Inſtance of Party-malice appeared againſt him; for having diſpatched Sir *John Munden* (an Officer, who, by the Confeſſion of his Enemies, had never miſbehaved) to intercept a *French* Squadron in its Paſſage from *Breſt* to the *Groyne*, without the deſired Effect, the Diſappointment was laid to his Account; and tho' Sir *John* was moſt honourably acquitted by a Court-Martial, of which Sir *Cloudſly*

Shovel was Preſident, the Queen was induced to break him notwithſtanding.

July 1. the confederate Fleet ſailed from St. *Hellens*, and arrived before *Cadiz*, *Auguſt* 12th, when a Council of War was immediately held, in which the Duke of *Ormond*, eager to diſtinguiſh himſelf, gave it as his Opinion, that the Place ſhould be attack'd without Delay: The Admiral was likewiſe for trying the Experiment, which is acknowledged by his Enemies; but becauſe both the Duke and he were over-ruled by the almoſt general Opinion of both Land and Sea-Officers, which form'd the Council, on a State of the Difficulty and Danger of the Attempt, and the wide Difference between the real *Strength* of the Place, and the *Repreſentation* made of it in *England*, this Diſappointment was likewiſe charged upon *Rook*, and gave Riſe to an Examination in the Houſe of Lords, of which more will be ſaid preſently.

A Deſcent was however made on the 15th, in the *Bay of Bulls*; in conſequence of which the Forces marched on to *La Rota* and

and *Port St. Maries*, which laſt Place was plundered by the Soldiers and ſome of the principal Officers, in Defiance of the Duke's Orders to the contrary. The next Attempt was on *Matagorda*-Fort, over-againſt the *Puntils*, againſt which a Battery was raiſed; but the Guns, at every Diſcharge, ſinking into the Sand, the whole Deſign was found impracticable, as at firſt repreſented by *Rook*; the Army was reimbark'd, and the whole Fleet ſet Sail on their Return to *England*.

Thus had ended this Summer's Naval Expedition, if mere Chance had not given our Commanders Intelligence that the *Spaniſh* Plate-Fleet, under Convoy of a *French* Squadron, had put into *Vigo*; upon which the Admiral reſolved (unwillingly, ſays *Burnet*) to follow them: And the Succeſs here became an unexpected Atonement for the former Diſgrace. No leſs than 15 Men of War and 8 Galleons being ſunk, and five Men of War and as many Galleons taken.

I have inſerted this Abridgment of the *Cadiz*-Expedition, now almoſt forgot, to make it viſible from Circumſtances at leaſt,

that

that our Efforts at Sea were rather calculated to ſerve as a Foil to thoſe at Land, than by their Mal-Execution to throw an Odium on the War in general. And this will appear yet more probable, when it is recollected, that the Duke of *Ormond* himſelf aſſured Biſhop *Burnet*, *That he had not half the Ammunition neceſſary for the taking of* Cadiz, *if they had defended themſelves well*; *tho' he* BELIEVED *they would not have made any great Reſiſtance, if he had landed on his firſt Arrival, and not given them Time to recover the Diſorder they had firſt put themſelves into.*

But what puts the Matter of Fact, in my humble Opinion, as it were out of Doubt, is the Account of Sir *George Rook*'s Examination before alluded to, even as given by this partial Prelate, which I ſhall make no Scruple to quote at Length, tho' manifeſtly warp'd to ſerve the Purpoſes of a Party; and abounding with invidious Reflections, which ſeem to have little beſide the Author's Prejudices for their Support.

A Committee of Peers, ſays his Lordſhip, ſat long upon the Matter. 'They ex-

'amined

'amined all the Admirals and Land-Officers,
'as well as *Rook* himſelf, upon the whole Pro-
'greſs of that Affair. *Rook* was ſo well *ſup-*
'*ported* by the COURT, and by his Party in
'the Houſe of Commons, that he ſeemed
'to deſpiſe all the Lords could do. Some
'who underſtood Sea-Affairs ſaid, that it
'appeared from every Motion he made dur-
'ing the Expedition, that he intended to do
'nothing but *amuſe* and make a *Shew*.
'They alſo concluded, from the Protection
'the MINISTRY gave him, that they
'intended no *other*. He took much Pains
'to ſhew how *improper* a Thing a Deſcent
'on *Cadiz* was; and how *fatal* the At-
'tempt muſt have proved; and in doing
'this he arraigned his *Inſtructions*, and the
'*Deſign* he was ſent on with great Bold-
'neſs, and ſhewed little Regard to the MI-
'NISTERS, who took *more Pains* to *bring*
'HIM OFF, than to *juſtify* themſelves. The
'Lords of the Committee prepared a Re-
'port which was hard upon *Rook*, and laid
'it before the Houſe; but ſo ſtrong a Par-
'ty was made to oppoſe every thing that

're-

'reflected on him, that tho' every Particular
'in the Report was well prov'd, yet it was
'rejected, and a Vote was carried in his Fa-
'vour, juſtifying his whole Conduct. The
'great Employment (meaning the Lieu-
'tenancy of *Ireland* vacant by the Reſigna-
'tion of Lord *Rocheſter*) given to the Duke
'of *Ormond*, ſo effectually prevailed on
'him, that tho' the Enquiry was ſet on by
'his Means, and upon his Suggeſtions, yet
'he *came not to the Houſe*, when it was
'brought to a Concluſion; ſo *Rook* being
'but faintly puſh'd by him, and moſt zea-
'louſly ſupported by his Party, was juſtify'd
'by a VOTE, tho' univerſally condemned
'by more impartial Judges. The Behavi-
'our of the MINISTRY in this Matter,
'heightened the Jealouſies with which they
'were poſſeſſed; for it was inferred that
'they were not *in Earneſt* in this *whole*
'*Expedition*; ſince the *Conduct* being ſo
'*contrary* to the *Inſtructions*, their *juſtify-*
'*ing* the *one* was plainly *condemning* the
'*other*.

I am obliged, Madam, for the ſake of throwing this whole Affair together, and the Concluſion to be drawn from it, to anticipate ſome Facts that lye farther off in Point of Time: But to purſue Truth in my Work, I hope will be thought no Digreſſion, whatever it may be in your Grace's: And from the Biſhop's own Words, it is obvious enough, that Marine Expeditions were *purpoſely* to be brought into Diſgrace; and that King *William*'s Politics (before condemned by your Grace) in not permitting Prince *George* to diſtinguiſh himſelf in Arms, were now copied in the almoſt ſimilar Caſe of Lord *Marlborough* and the Duke of *Ormond*; in as much as the laſt, tho' honour'd with a Command, was ſent upon an Undertaking which might have been fatal to him; and, as ſoon as poſſible, was laid aſide, under the plauſible Pretence of rewarding him with the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*.

I have before ſignify'd, Madam, that the free Strokes in the preceding Quotation from the *Biſhop* againſt the *Court* and the *Miniſters*, were meant only to reflect an

Odium

Odium on the Tories, as ſuppoſed to be averſe to the War, and conſequently liable to have all theſe Miſtakes and Miſmanagements laid to their Account. But Readers cannot be induc'd to judge as Prelates ſometimes vote, by Direction.

The *Court* and *Miniſtry* were as yet all Tories alike: Lord *Rocheſter* had no longer any Influence. Your Grace, Lord *Marlborough*, and Lord *Godolphin*, were at the Head of all Things; and, unleſs it can be ſuppoſed you left the Sea at Diſcretion to the Lord-High-Admiral, *Pembroke*, a part of the Council, or made it a Province to the two Secretaries Lord *Nottingham*, and Sir *Charles Hedges*, it cannot be underſtood that the Words *Court* and *Miniſtry* were applicable to them *only*: But, merely to excite an ill Opinion of the War, 'tis ſcarce to be conceived that Men would venture to draw down an ill Opinion upon themſelves: And if the ſaid Secretaries or any Body elſe, had betray'd the leaſt Inclination to blaſt the Powers above them, it is not to be ſuppoſed that the ſaid ſuperior Powers,

ſo

ſo provoked, would not have immediately teſtified their Reſentment, and rather join'd the Cry in the Houſe of Lords againſt Sir *George Rook*'s ſuppoſed ill Conduct, than us'd their utmoſt Efforts to bring him off.

Either, therefore, I have done no Violence to Truth, in drawing Concluſions againſt one Party, from Premiſſes levelled againſt the other; or elſe both, tho' from different Motives, were guilty alike.

In this Interval Lord *Marlborough*, having put himſelf at the Head of the Confederate Army, not only obliged Marſhal *Boufflers* to retire before him; but falling into the *Spaniſh Guelderland*, reduced *Venlo*, *Ruremond*, *Stevenzwert* and *Liege*; and tho' he fell into the Hands of the *French* in his Return, luckily extricated himſelf again, and arriv'd in *England* towards the End of the Year; being deſervedly received with great Acknowledgments by the Public for his military Conduct, and honour'd ſoon after with the Title of * Duke by her Majeſty.

Thus far all was ſmooth. His Grace's Behaviour had been unexceptionable abroad; and

* He had been created a Knight of the *Garter* before.

and at home, the People had returned a Tory-Parliament in compliment to the Court: So that the Seſſion was expected to paſs over as triumphantly as the Campaign, of which what could be a happier Omen than the following Paragraph in the Commons Addreſs?

'The late Diſappointment at *Cadiz* does 'the more affect us, becauſe it gives your 'Majeſty ſo much Trouble; but this Miſ-'fortune cannot make us forget, that the 'Protection and Security of our Trade, the 'vigorous Support of your Majeſty's Allies, 'and the wonderful Progreſs of your Ma-'jeſty's Arms under the Conduct of the Earl 'of *Marlborough* have ſignally *retrieved* the 'ancient Honour and Glory of the *Engliſh* 'Nation.'

'Tis remarkable that the *Whigs* were as yet ſo little attached to Lord *Marlborough*, that they ſtruggled hard to get the Word MAINTAINED inſerted inſtead of RETRIEVED; but loſt it by 100 Voices; and that the Lord *Rocheſter*, that *great Man* among the Tories, as he is called by your Grace, had

oppoſed Lord *Marlborough* in Council in *May*, and the new Parliament did not meet till *October*, yet none of the Party had as yet publicly appeared to eſpouſe either his Reaſons or Reſentments.

Your Grace indeed very juſtly charges *them* with introducing the *Occaſional-Conformity-Bill*, with a malicious Deſign of making it a *Teſt*, whereby her Majeſty might *diſtinguiſh* her *Friends* from her *Foes*: But, on its being loſt in the Houſe of Lords, but by one Vote, on three different Diviſions, Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, The four Tory Lords, before mentioned, were created on *Purpoſe* to ſecure a Majority for that very Bill. Nay he adds, That the COURT put *their whole* STRENGTH *to carry the Bill*, in ſo much that Prince *George*, tho' an *Occaſional Conformiſt* himſelf, was induced to come to the Houſe and give his Vote in its Favour. Can it be imagin'd, then, that Lord *Marlborough*, or Lord *Godolphin* execuſed themſelves? Nay, doth it appear, either from the Biſhop's, or your Grace's Book, that they ever endea-

voured it? On the contrary, 'tis a Certainty, that they then voted for it; tho' for Reaſons of State, they ſaw Cauſe to drop it afterwards.

No reaſonable Perſon will diſpute with your Grace, but that the Queen's Prejudices in Favour of the Church expoſed her to many unfair Practices; and that the Party then uppermoſt in her Favour, hoped and endeavoured to govern her by that Means: But were not the two Lords above mentioned of that Party too? And is not a Share of the Guilt of bringing in this very *Occaſional-Conformity*-Bill, for the firſt Time at leaſt, to be laid at their Door?

The open Rupture between the Tories and the *Marlborough*-Family is not to be aſcribed then to this Bill, whether unreaſonable or not; and we muſt look out for ſome other Cauſe, which, perhaps, we ſhall find in the following Incident, not the only one, moſt *diſcreetly* left unnoticed both by your Grace and Biſhop *Burnet*.

'On the 10th of *December* the following Meſſage was brought to the Houſe of

'Com-

'Commons by Mr. Secretary *Hedges*, sign-
'ed by the Queen herſelf.

'ANNE R.

'The Earl of *Marlborough*'s Services to
'her Majeſty, and to the Public, have been
'ſo eminent, both in his Command of the
'Army, and in his having eſtabliſhed an
'entire Confidence and good Correſpon-
'dence between her Majeſty and the States-
'General, that ſhe has thought fit to grant
'the Title of a Duke of this Kingdom to
'him, and to the Heirs Male of his Body,
'and alſo a Penſion of * 5000 l. *per Ann.*
'upon the Revenue of the Poſt-Office, for
'the Support of this Honour, during her
'Majeſty's natural Life. If it had been
'in her Majeſty's Power, ſhe would have
'granted the *ſame Term* in the *Penſion* as in
'the Honour; and ſhe hopes you will think
'it ſo reaſonable in this Caſe, as to *find*
'*ſome proper Methods of doing it.*'

* It was ſaid on this Occaſion, That the Queen intended to give the Duke of *Marlborough*, all the GOLD taken by the Duke of *Ormond* at *Vigo*.

The Commons, after the reading of this Meſſage, ſeemed, for ſome time, to be in a Maze, and kept ſo long ſilent, that (it was ſaid) the Speaker ſtood up, and looked round, to ſee if any body would ſpeak to it: And at length Sir *Edward Seymour* having broke the Ice, the Debate ran very high upon the Occaſion; and amongſt others common Fame gave out, that Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave* ſhould ſay, 'That though 'he had accepted of an Employment at 'Court, yet, he never did it with a Deſign 'that his Mouth ſhould be ſewed up in that 'Houſe, when any thing was offered that 'he thought detrimental to his Coun-'try: That he would not derogate from 'the Duke's eminent Services; but that he 'was very well paid for them, *&c.*' And the Houſe at length having wiſely weighed this important Affair, inſtead of complying with the Meſſage, on the 21ſt, preſented the following Addreſs to her Majeſty in relation to it.

'Moſt

'Moſt gracious Sovereign, We your Ma-
'jeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects the
'Commons in Parliament aſſembled, hum-
'bly beg leave to declare our unanimous
'Satisfaction in the juſt Eſteem your Ma-
'jeſty has been pleaſed to expreſs of the
'eminent Services performed by the Duke
'of *Marlborough*; who has not only, by
'his Conduct of the Army, retrieved the
'antient Glory and Honour of the *Engliſh*
'Nation, but by his Negotiation eſtabliſh-
'ed an entire Confidence and good Cor-
'reſpondence between your Majeſty and
'the States-General, and therein vindicated
'the Gentlemen of *England*, who had, by
'the vile Practices of deſigning Men, been
'traduced, and induſtriouſly repreſented as
'falſe to your Majeſty's Allies, becauſe
'they were true to the Intereſt of their
'Country.

'It is to their unexpreſſible *Grief*, that
'your Majeſty's moſt dutiful Commons find
'any Inſtances, where they are *unable* to
'comply with what your Majeſty propoſes
'to them; but they beg leave humbly to

'lay before your Majeſty the Apprehenſions 'they have of making a *Precedent* for the 'future *Alienations* of the Revenue of the 'Crown, which has been ſo much reduced 'by the *exorbitant Grants* of the laſt Reign, 'and which has been ſo lately ſettled and 'ſecured by your Majeſty's unparallel'd 'Grace and Goodneſs.

'We are infinitely pleaſed to obſerve by 'your Majeſty's late gracious Acceptance of 'the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Services, that 'the only way to obtain your Majeſty's Fa-'vour, is to deſerve well from the Public; 'and we beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty, 'that whenever you ſhall think fit to reward 'ſuch Merit, it will be to the entire Satiſ-'faction of your People.'

To which her Majeſty returned the following Anſwer:

'I ſhall always think myſelf much con-'cerned to reward thoſe who deſerve well 'of me, and the Public: On this account 'I beſtowed ſome Favours on the Duke of

'*Marl-*

'*Marlborough*, and I am glad to find you 'think they are well placed.'

Now, Madam, can it any longer be maintained that you had no Intereſt to ſerve by changing Sides, and endeavouring to bring the Whigs into Play? Or is it to be wondered at that your Grace could never forgive the Party who *diſappointed* you, for the Time being, at leaſt, of ſuch a delicious Morſel? But, on the other hand, how is it to be reconciled, that your Grace ſhould one while *ſcruple* to accept a precarious Penſion of *one Thouſand Pounds* a Year, as too much, and now ſhould urge the Queen ſo unſeaſonably to demand a *Perpetuity* of *Five Thouſand Pounds* for little more than *Five Months* Service?

However, not to choak your Grace with Queries, which I know you will ſcarce be able to ſwallow, it is morally certain that it was owing to this untoward Circumſtance that you conceived ſo violent an Antipathy to the *High-Church-Nonſenſe* of *Non-reſiſtance*, *Paſſive-Obedience*, &c. and that from hence,

in Conjunction with their perpetual Dread of Lord *Rocheſter*, your two Coadjutors were induced to deſert their old Principles and Friends, and direct the Stream of Court-Favour into another Channel.

That, upon the Whole, the Fire-Brand-Bill, ſo often mentioned, was neither introduced, nor ſo violently contended for, to anſwer any one good End, I agree with your Grace: But that you had ever, on that Account merely, deſerted the Tories, and ſtruck up an Alliance with the Whigs, if the firſt would have condeſcended to do the Drudgery required of them, I ſee no Cauſe from any one Action of her Majeſty's THREE MANAGERS to believe.

It has been already ſignified, that Lord *Rocheſter* had reſigned the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*: It is now neceſſary to take Notice in how good-natur'd a Way your Grace tells the Story.

'My Lord *Rocheſter* was, I think, the 'firſt of the *Tory* Leaders that diſcovered a '*deep Diſcontent* with the Queen and her 'Adminiſtration. Before the End of the 'Year

' Year he reſigned the Lieutenancy of *Ire-*
' *land* in *great Wrath*, upon her Majeſty's
' being ſo unreaſonable as to preſs him to
' go thither to attend the Affairs of that
' Kingdom, which greatly needed his Pre-
' ſence. For as the Revenue which had
' been formerly granted was out, it was ne-
' ceſſary to call a Parliament in order to a-
' nother Supply; and a Parliament could
' not be held without a Lord-Lieutenant.
' But when the Queen *repreſented* theſe
' Things to him, he told her with GREAT
' INSOLENCE, that *he would not go into*
' Ireland, *though ſhe would give the Coun-*
' *try to him and his Son*; ſo that he ſeems
' to have *accepted* the Poſt *only* that he
' might reign in *Ireland* by the Miniſtry of
' his Brother *Keightley*, as he hoped to do
' in *England*, in Perſon. Nor could he,
' after his Reſignation, overcome his An-
' ger ſo far as to wait upon the Queen
' or go to Council; which ſhe obſerving or-
' dered, after ſome time, that he ſhould no
' more be ſummoned, ſaying, " it was not

" reaſon-

" able my Lord *Rochester* ſhould come to
" Council only when he pleaſed.

' Perhaps his Lordſhip's Unwillingneſs to
' leave *England*, might proceed from his
' Zeal for the Church, and from his Fears
' leſt it ſhould be betray'd in his Abſence.
' But it was generally thought, and I be-
' lieve with good Reaſon, that the true
' Source of his Diſſatisfaction was the
' Queen's not making him her ſole Gover-
' nor and Director, and my Lord *Godol-*
' *phin*'s being preferred before him for the
' Treaſury: which if true, affords a remark-
' able Inſtance, how much Self-Love and
' Self-Conceit can blind even a Man of
' Senſe; for ſuch, by his Party at leaſt, he
' was eſteemed to be. I don't wonder that
' he ſhould *like* POWER (it is what moſt
' People are fond of) or that, being related
' to the Queen, he ſhould expect a *parti-*
' *cular Conſideration*. This was very na-
' tural and very reaſonable, if HE HAD
' BEHAVED HIMSELF TO HER AS HE
' OUGHT: But when one conſiders, that
' his Relation to her was by SUCH A SORT

'OF ACCIDENT, and that his Conduct 'had been ſo very *extraordinary*, 'tis an 'amazing Thing that he ſhould imagine, 'he was to DOMINEER over the Queen 'and every Body elſe, as he did over his 'own Family.

In Anſwer to all this, Madam, I will not take upon me to ſay that my Lord *Rocheſter*'s Diſcontent was not partly the Effect of Diſappointment as well as Patriotiſm. He was a Man; and had, in rather too violent a Degree, the Paſſions of a Man: But then, his Services to the State were not much inferiour to thoſe of Lord *Godolphin*; nor, in ſpite of Party-Prejudices, did he want either Ability or Integrity to qualify him for the higheſt Offices. To the ſame *Accident* that the Queen owed her Birth, he owed his Relation to her Majeſty; which, however *ſneer'd* at by your Grace, deſerved to be treated with rather more Reſpect than the *Accident* of your being her *Play-fellow*. He had given her in Council the beſt Advice in the World, as is now but too fatally manifeſt, and ſhe had been influenc'd (how, your Grace beſt knows)

knows) to follow the worſt. Having thus loſt all Confidence at Court, 'tis no Wonder he did not countenance Meaſures he could not approve; nor that Advantage ſhould be taken of his Diſcontent, to baniſh him to *Ireland*; or, in caſe he declin'd the Service, as perhaps it was foreſeen he would, to make it a Snare to ſend thither another obnoxious Perſon in his Room.

Every one of theſe Particulars is natural, and the Way of the World: But that he who treated the *Princeſs* with ſuch profound Reſpect, ſhould inſult his *Sovereign*, according to your Grace's ACCOUNT, is another Stroke of the *Marvellous*, which runs with ſo rich a Vein, and ſhines with ſuch diſtinguiſhed Luſtre thorough your whole Apology.

Your old Friend the Biſhop, Madam, recounts the Circumſtance of his Lordſhip's Reſignation ſimply thus.

'At this Time the Earl of *Rocheſter* quit-
'ted his Place of Lord-Lieutenant of *Ire-*
'*land*. He was uneaſy at the Preference
'which the Duke of *Marlborough* had in
'the Queen's Confidence, and at the Lord
'*Godolphin's*

'*Godolphin*'s being Lord Treaſurer. It was 'generally believed he was endeavouring to 'embroil our Affairs, and that he was laying a 'Train of Oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons. 'The Queen ſent a Meſſage to him, ordering 'him to make ready to go to *Ireland*; for it 'ſeemed ſtrange, eſpecially in a Time of 'War, that a Perſon in ſo great a Poſt, ſhould 'not attend upon it: But he, after ſome 'Days *adviſing* about it, went to the Queen 'and deſired to be excuſed from that Em-'ployment. This was readily accepted, and 'upon that he retired from the Councils.

Your Grace and the Biſhop agree pretty well in ſetting forth the Reaſons of his Diſguſt; but differ widely in the Manner of his laying down: there being not the leaſt Hint of the *great Inſolence* to be trac'd in one Account, which glares ſo remarkably in the other: According to *this*, the Queen condeſcends to *repreſent* to him in Perſon: According to *that*, ſhe contents herſelf with ſending a Meſſage only; which laſt being the Matter of Fact, (as I have been aſſured it was) it is ſcarce to be imagin'd, that

that he, who was, at firſt, cool enough to adviſe about his Anſwer for ſome Days, ſhould, in the Iſſue, grow ſo raſh as to affront her Majeſty to her Face.

Your Grace, however, has the Goodneſs to inſinuate, that his Relation to the Queen, however ACCIDENTAL, entitled him to expect a *particular Conſideration*, provided *he had behaved to her as he ought*. Words that drop from your Pen with a peculiar Propriety! But you add, it was an *amazing Thing* that he ſhould imagine he was to DOMINEER, *&c.* Here I cloſe with your Grace.... It was *really* an amazing Thing; conſidering that *Office* was already granted to ONE who never fail'd to make the moſt of it, as will be explain'd more at large in the Sequel.

The Tories were now ſplit into two Parts: Thoſe who continued with, and ſhar'd in the Fortunes of the Favourites, and thoſe who eſpouſed the Maxims and Reſentments of Lord *Rocheſter*: Which State-Schiſm your Grace very well knows was entirely owing to the Cormorant-Appetites of ſome Perſons,

Perſons, who both monopolized the Sunſhine of the Court, and ſtak'd the Wealth, Strength, Honour, and Happineſs of the whole Nation on one Caſt, as one may ſay, to aggrandize themſelves.

This, however, when the Parliament was firſt choſen, it is manifeſt, was not apprehended: But the Reception of the Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, relating to the 5000 *l.* a Year-Perpetuity, open'd your Eyes: You then ſaw, Madam, that tho' the Houſe made good the Supplies cheerfully and ſpeedily, and even granted an additional Ten thouſand Men to ſtrengthen your Lord's Hands in *Flanders*, it was rather out of Affection to the Queen than in Compliment to him.

The Occaſional-Conformity-Bill, which had given ſuch juſt Umbrage to the Whigs, *now* appear'd to be the Devil's own Handy-Work, and as ſuch, was, if poſſible, to be run down. The Whigs were now talk'd of at Court as the Queen's beſt Subjects; a good Underſtanding was eſtabliſhed between the Junto at the Head of Affairs and them; and

a Proſpect was opened to them of the promiſed Land.

In the Interval between the Seſſions, the Duke of *Marlborough* paſſed over into *Flanders*, and opened the Campaign with the Siege of *Bonne*; which capitulated in ten Days. Soon after which *Boufflers* having been detach'd from Marſhal *Villeroy*'s Army, to ſurprize the *Dutch* Forces under *Opdam*, at *Echeren*, his Grace was thought to have committed an Overſight, in not having attacked *Villeroy*, while thus weaken'd on one Side, or ſupported *Opdam*, who was overpowered on the other. He afterwards took *Huy*, *Limbourg*, and *Guelder*, which were the whole of his Exploits during this Campaign.

In this Interval, likewiſe, the Foundation of the ſubſequent War in *Spain* being laid, a grand Deſign of King *William*'s, to make certain important Acquiſitions in the Bay of *Mexico*, was laid aſide, for Fear of giving Offence to the *Spaniſh* Nation; and the King of *Portugal* was courted into the grand Alliance, on the moſt extravagant Terms

that can be conceived; such as the extending his Frontier in *Spain*, tho', at the same Time, WE were obliged to desist from our Designs on the *West-Indies*; the submitting our Fleets to his Command, or even that of his Viceroys, Governors, *&c.* and yielding him the Honour of the *Flag* in his own Ports: Which last Article Lord *Nottingham* warmly objected to, as a Disgrace to the *English Nation*; but for the Honour of Lord GODOLPHIN'S *round Proceedings*, as they are called by *Burnet*, he prevailed with the Queen to ratify the Treaty.

As to our Conduct at Sea this Summer, it even countenanced that of the last. The *Dutch* had now found out the Secret, and thought they might very safely retard those Preparations which were to be of no Use. *Rook* was for some Time sick with the ill Prospect before him; and when he did sail, was equip'd with such Orders, as amounted to no more than to *go out* and *come Home*. So that nothing was either done or attempted. But, as the Bishop of St. *Asaph* said by *our*

Enemies, in his *famous Preface*, let his Brother of *Sarum* tell the reſt.

'It was after this reſolved to ſend a ſtrong 'Fleet into the *Mediterranean*: It was near 'the End of *June* before they were ready to 'ſail, and they had Orders to come out of 'the *Streights* by the End of *September*: 'Every Thing was ſo *ill laid* in this Expe-'dition, as if it had been *intended* that *no-'thing ſhould be done by it*, beſides the *con-'voying* our Merchant-Ships, which did 'not require the 4th Part of ſuch a Force. '*Shovel* was ſent to command: When he 'ſaw his *Inſtructions*, he repreſented to the 'MINISTRY, *That nothing could be expect-'ed from this Voyage*. He was ordered to 'go, and he obeyed his Orders. He got 'to *Leghorn* by the Beginning of *September*. 'His Arrival ſeem'd to be of great Conſe-'quence, and the Allies began to take great 'Courage from it: But they were ſoon diſ-'appointed of their Hopes, when they un-'derſtood by his *Orders*, he could only ſtay 'a few Days there. Nor was it eaſy to ima-'gine what the Deſign of ſo great an Expe-

'dition

'dition could be, or why ſo much Money 'was *thrown away* on ſuch a Project, which 'made us *deſpiſed* by our Enemies, while it '*provok'd* our Friends, who might juſtly 'think they could not depend upon ſuch an 'Ally, who managed ſo great a Force with 'ſo poor a Conduct, as neither to *hurt* their 'Enemies, nor *protect* their Friends by it.'

Here again the Blame of all is openly thrown upon the MINISTRY, without the leaſt Diſcrimination, at the Head of which it was impoſſible Lord *Nottingham* ſhould be ſuppoſed, becauſe we have juſt been furniſh'd with an Inſtance of his being obliged to ſubmit his Opinion to that of Lord *Godolphin*.

To ſay all in a Word, our whole Marine was, at this Time, moſt deplorably manag'd; a Junto, (no Matter of what Party) headed by a Brother of the D. of *Marlborough*'s, under the Umbrage, and by the Stile of Council to Prince *George*, now Lord High-Admiral in the Room of Lord *Pembroke*, being ſuffered to act as wickedly or corruptly as they pleaſed, as appeared, among many other Inſtances, in the Victualling; which was ſo perni-

cious, that many Men were ſaid to be poiſoned with it, *&c. &c.*

Theſe Things, I am ſenſible, Madam, are ſomewhat foreign to my firſt Deſign; but I am deſirous my Book ſhould be of Uſe: A Conſideration which would have been no Diſhonour to your Grace.

We are come now to the ſecond Seſſion of this Tory-Parliament, which met in the ſame Humour they parted; that is to ſay, with Hearts and Hands devoted to the Church, or rather to the political Superſtructure which they deſigned to raiſe upon it. In plain *Engliſh*, the Queen was a Devotee, the Clergy had their Weight, and the Church was to be a Tool.

I have often acknowledged and lamented the Prevalence of Faction in all our Views and Undertakings both at home and abroad; and, tho' I appear in Oppoſition to your Grace as at the Head of one, you ſee I am no profeſs'd Advocate for the other.

The Occaſional Conformity-Bill was again brought in, but not with the Court-Sanction as before. Thus, tho' four Peers had been lately

made

made in order to give Weight to the Tory-Scale in the Houſe of Lords, Ways and Means were found out to counter-balance it again.—Even the Prince of *Denmark* withdrew his Countenance, her Majeſty, in her very Speech, had inſinuated her Diſapprobation, and above half of the Biſhops themſelves divided againſt it: The Conſequence of all which was, that, tho' it paſſed the Commons, as before, it was rejected by the Lords; and that with a Majority of twelve this Seſſion, tho' but of one the laſt.

It is, however, remarkable, on one Hand, that this very Houſe of Commons, who ſtickled ſo hard for this Party-*Shibboleth*, and have been held in general ſuch Obſtacles to the War, both granted and diſpatched the Supplies with all the Readineſs and Chearfulneſs imaginable; and, on the other, that her Majeſty, tho' ſhe no longer patroniz'd Church-Extravagance, at this Time made a Grant of the firſt Fruits and Tenths, in favour of the poorer Clergy. So *Janus-fac'd* is Policy!

Diſappointment either begets Rage, or Deſpair. The Tories were only incenſed; they had not, as yet, had Time to deſpond: Believing themſelves, therefore, to be ſtronger than they were, and their Adverſaries weaker; that in Heart the * Queen was ſtill their Friend,

* Which Opinion of their's was not ill-grounded, as appears by the following Letter from her Majeſty to the Ducheſs.

'I give my dear Mrs. *Freeman* many Thanks for her 'long Letter, and am truly ſenſible of the ſincere Kind-'neſs you expreſs in it; and in Return, to eaſe your 'Mind, I muſt tell you, *Mr.* Bromley *will be diſap-'pointed, for the Prince does not intend to go to the Houſe, 'when the Bill of Occaſional Conformity is brought in*; but 'at the ſame Time that I think him very much in the 'right not to vote in it, I ſhall not have the worſe Opi-'nion of any of the Lords that are for it; for tho' *I 'ſhould have been very glad it had not been brought into the 'Houſe of Commons*, becauſe I would not have had any Pre-'tence given for quarrelling; I can't help thinking, *now 'it is as good as paſt there*, it will be *better for the Service 'to have it paſs the Houſe of Lords too.* I muſt own to you, 'that I never cared to mention any thing on this Sub-'ject to you, becauſe I knew you would not be of my 'Mind; but ſince you have given me this Occaſion, I 'can't forbear ſaying, that *I ſee nothing like Perſe-'cution in this Bill. You may think it is a Notion Lord* Nottingham *has put in my Head, but upon my 'Word it is my own Thought.* I am in Hopes I ſhall have 'one Look before you go to *St. Albans*, and therefore 'will ſay no more now, but will anſwer your Letter 'more at large, ſome other Time; and only promiſe

Friend, and that they were ſure of the People, they held their Heads higher, talk'd louder, and declared themſelves without Reſerve. In particular, they indiſcreetly puſh'd my Lord *Nottingham* to inſiſt, that certain Whig-Lords ſhould be removed from Council, or to reſign the Seals: Of which impolitic Step, and their late Intemperance in the Houſe of Commons, ſuch Advantage was taken, that the Queen, inſtead of complying, was prevail'd with to humble the whole Party at once, by diſmiſſing Lord *Jerſey* and Sir *Edward Seymour* from their Employments of Comptroller and Lord-Chamberlain of the Houſhold: Upon which Lord *Nottingham* threw up, as it was expected he would, tho' it ſeems not by the Queen, who preſs'd him to continue in her Service.

This Incident is told in the following cool Manner by your Grace.

'my dear Mrs. *Freeman* faithfully, I will read the *Book* 'ſhe ſent me, and beg ſhe would never let Difference of 'Opinion hinder us from living together, as we uſed to 'do. Nothing ſhall ever alter your poor, unfortunate, 'faithful *Morley*, who will live and die with all Truth 'and Tenderneſs, your's.

'This new Blow to the Church (the Loss
'of the *Occasional Conformity-Bill*) was soon
'followed by another, the Removal of Lord
'*Jersey* and Sir *Edward Seymour* from their
'Employments; and about the same Time
'Lord *Nottingham* resigned his Place of Se-
'cretary of State, because the Whigs were
'too much favoured.'

Here again the Effect is visible, but the Cause is conceal'd: Tories are disgrac'd, and Whigs are favour'd. For what Reasons, and at whose Instance, is left in utter Darkness, and the Reader is here to grope out his Way as well as he can. ——— By recollecting indeed what your Grace advanced in the Beginning of your Book, concerning the low Condition of the Whigs, and the *Elevation* they were advanc'd to by *your* Means, we are directed to ascribe the Change just mentioned to your Predominance. ——— But a Name which your Grace has not as yet thought proper to mention, tho' soon to be set forth as the *second* Devil of your Drama, now comes forward, and demands at last to

have

have that Juſtice done it, which Party-Rage, Hood-wink'd Prejudice, and deſigning Ambition have hitherto denied it.

Robert Harley, Eſq; a Gentleman who had eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in detecting the Parliamentary-Corruptions which broke out in the late Reign, as likewiſe in the famous Debate on the Diſbanding of the Army after the Treaty of *Ryſwick*; and to whoſe Firmneſs it was principally owing that the Continuance of the *Dutch* Guards in this Realm, tho' particularly deſired by the King, could not be diſpenſed with; who, in juſt Acknowledgment of his diſtinguiſhed Merit, was choſen Speaker in the two laſt Parliaments of King *William*, and now again for the third Time, by the firſt of Queen *Anne*; this *Robert Harley*, I ſay, Madam, was become ſo conſiderable by his Weight in the Houſe of Commons, had diſcovered ſuch a Capacity for Buſineſs, and was held in ſuch univerſal Eſteem, that the two great Aſſociates at the Helm, could not help admitting him into their Confidence, as being *thought*

by them, according to your own Words, *p.* 208. *A very proper Perſon to manage the Houſe of Commons, upon which ſo much always depends.*)

Your Grace does not indeed mean to give this Evidence in his Favour, as is manifeſt by the Turn of the ſubſequent Paragraph. 'And 'his Artifices had won upon them ſo far, 'that *they could not be perſuaded*, but they 'might ſecurely TRUST him, till Experi-'ence, too late, convinced them to the con-'trary.' THEY COULD NOT BE PERSUADED! Somebody endeavoured it then; and who could pretend to have more Penetration and Sagacity than thoſe two renown'd Politicians, but your Grace? An Inſinuation very artfully made, and, no Doubt, redounding highly to your Honour!

As to the TRUST you mention, Madam, I ſuppoſe, it is to be underſtood, that the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin* took it for granted that Mr. *Harley* would be their TOOL.

But, in order to underſtand Party-Lan-

guage,

guage, we ought to examine Party-Designs to the Bottom.

The Queen had as much good Senſe as moſt Women, and more than moſt Monarchs: But her Situation was ſuch as rendered it of little Uſe. By her Affections ſhe was bewitched to your Grace; by her Principles ſhe was attach'd to the Church; On the one Hand ſhe was beſieged by thoſe Tories, who, on the Strength of her Prejudices, would have enſlav'd the reſt of their Fellow-Subjects: On the other, ſhe was made the Prey of thoſe, who, by the moſt plauſible Pretences, ſo far confounded her Underſtanding, as to render War almoſt as much her Delight, as it was their own. According to theſe, all who ſeem'd to prefer the Safety and Repoſe of their bleeding Country, to the Bubble of Military Glory, were Traitors and Jacobites: According to thoſe, Majeſty itſelf was made a Property of, and *one Family* inſolently ſacrificed the Lives and Fortunes of a whole People, to gratify their own private Intereſt; by them artfully call'd the *true Intereſt*

terest of the Public. Thus miſerably beſet, with the beſt Diſpoſition as a Woman, with the nobleſt Intentions as a Queen, this great, beloved, applauded, but unhappy Lady, found herſelf impotent in the Midſt of Power, and continually obnoxious to Complaints and Perſecutions; tho' never blameable, but for being govern'd herſelf, when alike authoriz'd and qualify'd to govern others.

'Tis obvious to common Senſe, that, in a Court ſo circumſtanced, it was morally impoſſible for Independency to find either Encouragement, or Admiſſion. Faction had the Poſſeſſion of every Avenue; Sentinels were ſtation'd at every Poſtern; there was no paſſing without the Word, which was given to none, but ſuch as were either enliſted, or impreſſed into the Service.

All this no Body knew better, few ſo well as Mr. *Harley*, who was equally a Patriot and a Politician; and ſaw clearly, if he did not exert the one, it would be extremely difficult to manifeſt the other. In your Grace's Right, he ſaw the D. of *Marlborough* Lord of the Aſcendant, and the Treaſurer, Body

Body and Soul, at his Devotion. The Wild-fire-Schemes which the Rage of the diſappointed Tories had thrown them into, affronted both his Conſcience and his Underſtanding; to ſee the Queen, in a Manner, a Priſoner upon the Throne, excited at once his Pity and his Indignation; to ſee the Nation led with Wreaths and Garlands to the Altar, ſtruck him with Horror, and inſpir'd him with Reſolution to run all Hazards to reſcue the devoted Victim.

To ſay then that he temporis'd with thoſe who held the Throne as in Cuſtody, till he had free Acceſs to it, till he could give Utterance to what his Boſom labour'd with, till her Majeſty was convinc'd from his own Lips of his Zeal for her real Service, independent (as far as was poſſible) of all Parties or Party-Leaders whatever, is the utmoſt which the Enemies of Mr. *Harley*, with Probability, can hitherto lay to his Charge.

As a Proof of which, let us take a View of his Behaviour when he had firſt the Ear, and began to poſſeſs the Confidence of the Queen: He found her in the melancholy Circumſtances

ſtances before deſcribed; in her Cabinet diſtracted with the different Councils, and oppoſite Demands of two contending Factions, whoſe principal Aim was to engroſs her wholly to themſelves; and even in her Bedchamber not Miſtreſs of her private Favours.

To begin then with the moſt practicable Part of his Scheme, he propoſed firſt as a reaſonable, nay a neceſſary Meaſure for the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, the diſembarraſſing her Majeſty, and the giving Strength, Firmneſs and Importance to her Government, both abroad and at home, what your Grace had only wrangled for, and what your two Lords ſecretly wiſh'd, but durſt not openly undertake; which was, the Diſmiſſion of Sir *Edward Seymour*, and the moſt turbulent of the Tories, and that very Coalition with the Whigs, which your Grace has arrogated ſolely to yourſelf.

That you, Madam, had *more* Reaſons than Mr. *Harley* to obtain this deſirable Point, has already been explain'd; and that you very earneſtly endeavour'd to effect it, cannot be denied: But then, your Grace would have

carry'd

carry'd it like all the rest, with a high Hand, as a Debt to her Majesty's FRIENDS, tho' a Violence to her own Inclinations.

But Mr. *Harley*, on the contrary, pleaded the Necessity of such a Measure from the Divisions in her Councils, from the factious Spirit that, from thence, went forth among the People, and the dreadful Misunderstandings it had stirr'd up even between the two Houses themselves; from the melancholy Apprehensions it created in our Allies, the Hopes it excited in our Enemies, and the universal Dislocation, as one may term it, of every Joint of Government, it produced.

Thus, while your Grace only made the Queen uneasy with your Remonstrances, he made it his Business to convince her Judgment; the Consequence of which was, that the Prime-Ministry, as it was called, rested in Lord *Godolphin*; the Duke of *Marlborough* had the Army at his own Disposal; Mr. *Harley* was made Secretary of State, on the Resignation of Lord *Nottingham*, Sir *Charles Hedges* the other Secretary was continued

ſtained; and Sir *George Rook*, notwithſtanding the Calumnies he had been loaded with, or his being thought an Aſſociate with the late *Furioſo*'s, was, for ſome Time after at leaſt, entruſted with the Conduct of the Fleet.

But tho' theſe Alterations in the Diſtribution of Power had been made at his Inſtance, he * waited only for an Opportunity, to give it as his farther Opinion, that the Queen ought not to be cloſeted up from the Knowledge, or Approach of any of her Subjects, who had a Pretence, from their Birth and Situation, to that Honour, on any Party Conſideration whatever; that Miſtakes in Judgment ought not to be imputed as Crimes; that even willful Treſpaſſes, if not of the moſt malignant Kind, ought to be over-looked; that no Faction ought to be made deſperate; but that a Door ſhould be left open for all who ſignified a Senſe of paſt Miſcarriages, and a Diſ-

* And that they were made at his Inſtance, will ſcarce admit of Controverſy, when it is reflected that *Henry St. John*, Eſq; was made Secretary at War, and *Thomas Manley* Eſq; Comptroller of the Houſhold, in compliment to him, at the ſame Time, when the ſaid Alterations took place.

poſition

poſition to contribute for the future, as far as their Power and Capacity would give them leave, to the joint Service of their Queen and Country.

If your Grace ſhould be curious to know on what Authority I have aſſerted theſe things; I anſwer, that of Mr. *Harley* himſelf; drawn from the Introduction to thoſe Materials which he had prepared for his Defence, when the miſtaken Prejudices of ſome Men, and the Craft and Guilt of others led them to aim at his Life; tho', in the End, ſerving only to draw down Reproach and Ignominy on themſelves.

But I digreſs.

The Houſe of Commons having done their Part, in making good the Supplies; it muſt likewiſe be acknowledged, to the Honour of Lord *Godolphin*, that the Oeconomy of the Treaſury and Exchequer were put by him on the beſt Footing imaginable; and that he had ſo dexterouſly brought the money'd Men, who were principally Whigs, into his Intereſt, that ſcarce any Project could be propoſed for the Service of the Govern-

ment, but Caſh was immediately found to anſwer it: But how wretched an Equivalent the Multiplication of Exchequer-Bills and Bank-Notes muſt be deemed for the diminiſhing our Specie, at this Time exported in vaſt Quantities to *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Flanders*, *&c.* appears but too evidently already; and will become yet more evident as the Springs continue to fail on one hand, and the Reſervoirs to be exhauſted on the other.

The Duke of *Marlborough* had now ſufficient Opportunity to ſhew the *Greatneſs of the General*, as your Grace phraſes it; and as no Man was better qualify'd, ſo no Man diſplay'd his Talents to more Advantage. The Emperor was almoſt at the Mercy of his Enemies, and ſcarce any thing leſs than the mighty Efforts of that amazing Campaign, as Things were then circumſtanced, could have prevented his Ruin. The March from the *Rhine* to the *Danube*, the Battle of *Schellenberg*, the Deſolation brought upon *Bavaria*, by the Obſtinacy of the Elector, and the glorious and deciſive Action at *Hockſted*, are all little leſs than

Miracles, and deſerve to be conſidered and applauded accordingly.

Why then were the Meaſures to obtain all this Glory oppoſed and cenſured, do you aſk, Madam? Becauſe it coſt us more than it was worth; becauſe it was both foreſeen and foretold that it would entail a Debt upon us would be our Ruin; becauſe the Loſs of that very Battle, 'tis more than probable, would have given the finiſhing Blow to the Liberties of *Europe*.

'Tis one of the Curſes inſeparable from factious Times, to oblige an Author to blend Controverſy with Hiſtory: Let this be my Excuſe for interweaving a Thread of each!

As well as by the Battle of *Hockſted*, this Year was diſtinguiſhed by the taking of *Gibraltar*; which was ſtormed by the *Engliſh* Seamen under the Command of Sir *George Rook*..... Of which memorable Action it may not be amiſs to inſert firſt Biſhop *Burnet*'s Account, and then the Truth.

'*Rook*, as he ſail'd back, (from the *Mediterranean*) fell in upon *Gibraltar*, where

' he *ſpent* much *Powder*, bombarding it to
' very *little Purpoſe*, that he might *ſeem* to
' *attempt ſomewhat* ; tho' there was no Rea-
' ſon to *hope* he could *ſucceed* : Some bold
' Men ventured to go aſhore, in a Place
' where it was not thought poſſible to
' climb up the Rocks : Yet they ſucceeded
' in it. When they got up, they ſaw all the
' Women of the Town were come out, ac-
' cording to their Superſtition, to a Chapel
' there, to implore the Virgin's Protection ;
' they ſeiz'd on them, and that contributed
' not a little to diſpoſe thoſe in the Town
' to ſurrender ; they had leave to ſtay or
' go as they pleaſed, *&c.*

Sir *John Vanbrugh*, in one of his Plays, is, pleaſed to ſay Gad-a-mercy Parſon ! Let me be allowed to ſay Gad-a-mercy Biſhop ! For ſurely ſuch an old Woman's Tale (I beg your Grace's Pardon) never before affronted the World under the important Name of Hiſtory.— Even in Gazette-Language, that gallant and ſucceſsful Enterprize cannot make ſo contemptible a Figure.

July

July 21ſt, the Fleet got into the Bay; and at three in the Afternoon the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Marines, to the Number of 1800, under the Command of the Prince of *Heſſe-Darmſtadt*, were ſet on Shore to poſſeſs the Neck of Land, and cut off all Communication between the Garriſon and the adjacent Country.

The 22d, the Diſpoſition was made by the Admiral for cannonading the Town; but the Wind blowing contrary, the Men of War could not take Poſſeſſion of their appointed Stations till the Evening came on.

But, ſoon after Day-break, the next Morning, the Signal was given; and ſo vigorous a Fire enſued, that, in leſs than ſix Hours, 1500 Shot had been diſcharged; to ſo good a Purpoſe, that the Enemy were beat from their Guns; and the Admiral, ſnatching the Opportunity, ordered the Boats to be mann'd and arm'd, and an immediate Attack to be made on the Platform on the South-Mole-Head; on the taking of which the whole Succeſs of the

Enterprize depended. As this Command was given with Judgment, it was executed with a Reſolution that will reflect an everlaſting Honour on the *Engliſh* Seamen. For, notwithſtanding the incredible Difficulty of the Attempt, both from the natural and artificial Strength of the Place, they ſurmounted all Obſtacles. An Action that ſcarce ever was equalled, and never can be ſurpaſſed! the Works being defended by an hundred Pieces of Cannon towards the Sea; and fifty Men being judged ſufficient to maintain that Poſt againſt ſeveral thouſand regular Troops.

But thoſe who firſt made themſelves Maſters of the Platform, paid dear for their diſtinguiſhed Bravery; the *Spaniards* ſoon after ſpringing a Mine, by which two Lieutenants and forty Seamen were kill'd and ſixty wounded.

This did not, however, deter the reſt from ruſhing into the like Danger; for in the midſt of the ſmoaking Ruins, they manifeſted the ſame Ardour, and not only made good the Advantage they had obtained,

ed, but preſſing onward ſtill, carried another important Redoubt, half Way between the Mole and the Town, with the like aſtoniſhing Intrepidity; made themſelves Maſters of many of the Enemy's Cannon, and had the Place at their Mercy.

Upon this the Governor was ſummoned to ſurrender; Articles of Capitulation were ſign'd the next Day; in the Evening, the Prince of *Heſſe* took Poſſeſſion of it; and we have made a Shift to hold it ever ſince, in ſpite of the ſtigmatiz'd Treaty of *Utrecht*, Promiſes to give it up, Sieges to compel the Performance of thoſe Promiſes, and the Opinion of the ſage Dr. *Burnet*, who ſeems to hint it is not worth keeping.

As I am a profeſs'd Reſpondent to your Grace only, it may be thought a Deviation, to undertake the Prelate, I have juſt mentioned, at the ſame Time: But I hope to be excuſed, when 'tis recollected that your Performances are ſo much of a Piece, that 'tis ſcarce poſſible to ramble after one, without ſtumbling on the other.

'*Rook*, (ſays that egregious Prelate) af-
'ter he had *ſupply'd* GIBRALTAR, ſail'd
'again into the *Mediterranean*; and there
'he met the Count of *Tholouſe* with the
'whole *French* Fleet: They were ſuperior
'to the *Engliſh* in Number, and had many
'Gallies with them that were of *great Uſe*.
'*Rook* called a Council of *War*, in which
'it was reſolved to engage them; there was
'not *due Care* taken to furniſh *all* the Ships
'with a ſufficient Quantity of Powder,
'for ſome had *waſted* a great Part of their
'Stock of Ammunition before *Gibraltar*,
'YET they had generally TWENTY-
'FIVE Rounds; and it had *ſeldom* happened
'that *ſo much* Powder was ſpent in an Action
'at Sea. On the 12th of *Auguſt*, juſt ten
'Days after the Battle of *Hockſted*, the two
'Fleets engaged: SHOVEL advanced with
'his Squadron to a *cloſe Fight*; for it was
'the Maxim of our Seamen to fight as near
'as they could; HE had the *Advantage*,
'and the Squadron before him gave way.
'*Rook* fought at a *greater Diſtance*; many
'Broadſides paſſed, and the Engagement

'continued till Night parted them: ſome 'Ships that had ſpent all their Ammuniti-'on were forced, on that Account, to go 'out of the Fire; and if the *French* had 'come to a new Engagement *next* Day, it 'might have been fatal; ſince many of our 'Ships were without Powder, while others 'had enough and to ſpare.

He adds however, 'The *French* ſuffer'd 'much in this Action, and went into *Thoulon* 'ſo diſabled, that they could not be put into 'a Condition to go to Sea in many Months. '*They left the Sea as the Field of Battle to* '*us*; ſo that the HONOUR of the Action re-'mained with us; tho' the Nation was not 'much lifted up with the News of a *drawn* '*Battle (your Grace's Expreſſion likewiſe)* at 'Sea with the *French*.

To ſay nothing of the Tameneſs of the Biſhop's Pencil in a Battle-piece, or his manifeſt Inconſiſtencies; the ill Treatment he has every where beſtow'd on Sir *George Rook* deſerves Correction, which, in this Place, he ſhall receive from the blunt, artleſs, honeſt

neſt Letter of Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, as follows.

'This brings the News of my Health, 'and that we are on our Way homeward: 'That which ſends us home ſo ſoon, is a 'very ſharp Engagement we have had with 'the *French*; our Number of Ships that 'fought in the Line of Battle were pretty 'equal; I think they were FORTY-NINE, 'and we FIFTY-THREE; but Sir *George* '*Rook* reſerved ſome of the FIFTY Gun 'Ships, to obſerve if they attempted any 'thing with their Galleys, of which they had 'TWENY-FOUR. Their Ships did far ex-'ceed in Bigneſs. I judge they had SE-'VENTEEN Three-Deck-Ships, and we had 'but SEVEN. The Battle began on *Sunday* 'the 13th Inſtant, ſoon after Ten in the 'Morning, and in the Centre and Rear of 'the Fleet it continued till Night parted; 'but in the Van of the Fleet, where I com-'manded, and led by Sir *George Leake*, we 'having the Weather-gage, gave me an Op-'portunity of coming as near as I pleaſed,

'which

'which was within Piſtol-ſhot, before I
'fired a Gun, through which Means, and
'God's Aſſiſtance, the Enemy declined us,
'and were upon the Run in leſs than Four
'Hours, by which time we had little Wind,
'and their Galleys row'd off their lame
'Ships and others as they pleaſed; for the
'Admiral of the White and Blue with
'whom we fought, had SEVEN Galleys
'tending upon him. As ſoon as the Ene-
'my got out of the Reach of our Guns, and
'the Battle continuing pretty hot aſtern,
'and ſome of our Ships in the Admiral's
'Squadron towing out of the Line, which I
'underſtood afterwards was for want of
'Shot, I order'd all the Ships of my Di-
'viſion to ſlack all their Sails to cloſe
'the Line in the Center; this Working
'had that good Effect, that ſeveral of the
'Enemies Ships aſtern, which had kept
'their Line, having their Top-ſails and
'Fore-ſails ſet, ſhot up abreaſt of us, as
'the Rear-Admiral of the White and
'Blue, and ſome of his Diviſion; and the
'Vice-Admiral of the White, and ſome of
'his

'his Diviſion; but they were ſo warmly re-
'ceived, before they got a Broadſide, that
'with their Boats ahead, and their Sprit-
'ſails ſet, they tow'd from us, without giv-
'ing us the Opportunity of firing at them.

'The Ships that ſuffer'd moſt in my Di-
'viſion were the *Lenox*, *Warſpight*, *Til-*
'*bury* and *Swiftſure*, the reſt eſcaped pretty
'well, and I the beſt of all, though I ne-
'ver took greater Pains in all my Life to be
'ſoundly beaten; for I ſet all my Sails,
'and row'd with three Boats ahead to get
'a long-ſide with the Admiral of the White
'and Blue; but he outſailing me, ſhunn'd
'Fighting, and lay a long-ſide of the little
'Ships: Notwithſtanding, the Engagement
'was very ſharp, *and I think the like be-*
'*tween two Fleets never has been in any*
'*Time.* There is hardly a Ship that muſt
'not ſhift one Maſt, and ſome muſt ſhift
'all; a great many have ſuffered much, but
'NONE MORE than Sir *George Rook*, and
'Capt. *Jennings* in the *St. George*. God ſend
'us well home, I believe we have not three
'ſpare Top-maſts, nor three Fiſhes in the
'Fleet,

' Fleet, and I judge there is ten Jury-maſts
' now up. After the Fight we lay two
' Days in ſight of the Enemy, preparing for
' a ſecond Engagement, but the Enemy de-
' clin'd and ſtood from us in the Night.

I do not inſert theſe Portions of Hiſtory by way of News to your Grace; or to correct the Biſhop only: But to point out very clearly the Abſurdity of the reigning Politics of thoſe Times; which led us to exhauſt our principal Strength on the *Terra firma*, while we ſuffered the Confederate Fleet to be overmatched by the Enemy; and to engage under the dreadful Diſadvantage of fighting with but *ſeven* Three-Deck-Ships, againſt *ſeventeen*; and a Superiority of no leſs than *ſix hundred* great Guns, aſſiſted by *twenty-four* Gallies; and in a Sea ſo far remote from our own Ports and Harbours:

As likewiſe, Madam, to mortify that tow'ring Spirit which has induc'd you to ſpeak with Contempt of the Actions of Sir *George Rook*, becauſe diſtinguiſh'd in the ſame Addreſs which ſet forth thoſe of the

Duke

Duke of *Marlborough*; ſince of the firſt, *Gibraltar* ſtill is, and I hope ever will be a Memorial; and of the laſt, no viſible Trace remains, I mean to *Britain*, but *Blenheim*-Houſe, the Grants of Conveyance, *&c.* and Poſt-Office-Penſion annexed to it.

We come now to the third and laſt Seſſion of the Tory Parliament, which, tho' ſo obnoxious to your Grace for putting a Negative on the Queen's intended Bounty to your Lord, when his Merit and Reputation were but in their Dawn, not only complimented him with barren Thanks, but now paſs'd a Vote in his Favour, which gave Riſe to thoſe mighty Rewards above ſpecified. But all was poiſoned by their obſtinate Adherence to the Occaſional-Conformity-Bill, and their ill-judg'd Project of *tacking* it to a Money-Bill, to diſable the Lords from rejecting it, or to embroil them with the Crown, in caſe they did. 'Tis true, many of the leading Tories were induced to deſert their Friends on this Occaſion, which expoſed the whole Party; and tho' the Bill was carried without the *Tack*

by

by the Commons, it was again rejected by the Lords on a Diviſion of 71 againſt 50. So ſubmiſſive is Conſcience itſelf to the Pleaſure of a Court, or rather a Miniſtry!

We have now, Madam, a Tranſition to the *Danger of the Church*, of which you give us a Hiſtory in *your Way*: Two Letters of the Queen's on the ſame Subject are likewiſe introduced; which we cannot avoid inſerting, in juſtice to her unaffected Sincerity, and conſcientious Regard to Principles, ſo ſeldom to be met with on a Throne!

November 17th 1704.

'—— I am ſure no Body ſhall endeavour more to promote it [*Union*] than your poor, unfortunate, faithful *Morley*, *who doth not at all doubt of your Truth and Sincerity to her*, and hopes *her* not *agreeing in* EVERY THING *you ſay*, will not be imputed to want of Value, Eſteem, or tender Kindneſs for my *dear*, *dear* Mrs. *Freeman*, it being impoſſible for any one to be more ſincerely another's, than I am your's,

St.

Ss. James's, November the 21ſt.

'I had juſt ſealed up my Letter on *Saturday* Night as I received the Satisfaction of my dear Mrs. *Freeman*'s of that Day's Date, but would not open it again, concluding I ſhould have Time either *Sunday* or *Yeſterday*, to thank you for it. When *Sunday* came I had ſeveral Hindrances, and *Yeſterday* I ſat down to write, but was hinder'd by one of the *Scots* People coming to ſpeak with me, or elſe I ſhould not have been ſo long without telling you, I am very ſorry, you ſhould forbear writing upon the Apprehenſion of your Letters being troubleſom, *ſince you know very well they are not, nor ever can be ſo*, but the contrary, to your poor unfortunate, faithful *Morley*. Upon what my dear Mrs. *Freeman* ſays again concerning the Addreſs, I have looked it over again, and cannot for my Life ſee, one can put any other Conſtruction upon the Word *Preſſures*, than what I have done already. As to my ſaying the Church was in ſome Danger in the late Reign, I cannot alter my

'Opinion;

'Opinion; for though there was no violent 'Thing done, every Body that will ſpeak 'impartially muſt own, that every Thing 'was leaning towards the Whigs, *and when-* '*ever that is, I ſhall think the Church be-* '*ginning to be in Danger.*

However ludicrouſly the Clamours about the *Church* appear'd to your Grace, it ſeems they affected the Queen in a very different Way; tho' a Bugbear, ſhe could not help being terrified with it; and thoſe who made uſe of it, no doubt, took Advantage of her Weakneſs: But tho' this Terror was a Weakneſs, ſhe underſtood it to be a Virtue, and had been ever confirm'd in that Opinion by all about her, except your Grace; to whom the Extravagance of Piety could never be imputed: If, therefore, even the *mad Conduct of the tacking Tories* could not wholly wean her from this Boſom-Prejudice, ought ſhe to be expoſed. Ought ſhe to be blam'd? Poor Lady! Was not ſhe beſet with Terrors on every Side? And if the Church was rendered a Bugbear on one hand, was not the Succeſs of the War rendered as much a Bugbear on the other?

But to proceed with a curſory View of our Foreign Affairs.

At Sea, the taking and deſtroying five capital *French* Ships, part of *Ponti*'s Squadron (the reſt having been diſpers'd by a Storm) in the Bay of *Gibraltar*, by Admiral * *Leake*, was our principal Exploit; but a Fleet ſtation'd before *Breſt*, detern'd the Enemy from venturing out; and the *Toulon* Squadron was not yet recover'd from the Damage they had ſuſtained from Sir *George Rook*; which ſufficiently ſhewed both the Neceſſity and Importance of our preſerving the Sovereignty of the Seas.

In *Flanders*, tho' the Duke of *Marlborough* never ſet out with greater Hopes, nothing very material was done, except forcing the *French* Lines at *Tirlemont*, which was imputed to the *Over-Caution* of the States Deputies, who refuſed to hazard a Battle, when urg'd to it by his Grace.

We had likewiſe our Hands full in *Spain*, in virtue of the Treaty with the K. of *Portugal* be-

* *Rook* had been ſet aſide; perhaps for the high Crime of being mentioned in the ſame Addreſs with his Grace of *Marlborough*.

before ſpoken of; who, even as our very Biſhop acknowledges, *made great Demands on us. England being now conſidered as a Source that could never be exhauſted. We granted all their Demands, and a Body of Horſe was ſent to them at a vaſt Charge.*

This Year, moreover, the Earl of *Peterborough*, your Grace muſt well remember, obtained the Command of 5000 Men in that Service; of whoſe almoſt miraculous Exploits, and the Reward they met with, we ſhall have Occaſion to give a haſty Sketch in the Sequel, as being fatally connected with thoſe Party-Feuds which have ſo long encumber'd our Soil, and choak'd the Growth of every eminent Virtue.

But I beg your Grace's Pardon; I am wandering after our public Affairs, and your Book profeſſes to treat only of *yourſelf*: which I had almoſt forgot, till the following Paragraph very ſeaſonably recalled my Attention.

'And the next Year I *prevail'd* with 'her Majeſty to take the Great Seal from 'Sir *Nathan Wright*, a Man deſpiſed by all 'Parties, of no uſe to the Crown, and whoſe

'weak and wretched Conduct in the Court
'of *Chancery*, had almoſt brought his very
'Office into Contempt. His Removal
'however was a great Loſs to the Church,
'for which he had ever been a warm Stick-
'ler. And this Loſs was the more ſenſibly
'felt, as his Succeſſor, my Lord *Cowper*,
'was not only of the Whig-Party, but of
'ſuch Abilities and Integrity, as brought a
'new Credit to it in the Nation.'

We have already, Madam, ſeen the Army and the Treaſurer's Staff diſpoſed of according to your good Will and Pleaſure; we have ſeen a Peer introduced by you into the Houſe of Lords. We have ſeen Ladies of the Bed-chamber made and rejected as you frown'd or ſmil'd. We have ſeen Party-Leaders of all Ranks diſplac'd ſucceſſively to make you eaſy. And now, to complete your Glory, we have ſeen the Cuſtody of the Great Seal of *England* at your Devotion likewiſe. To compare, then, *your* Succeſſes with your *Lord's*, how hard would it be to determine, whoſe were the moſt illuſtrious? To compare your different Trophies, how hard will it be to determine which are likely to

be

be moſt durable? And to compare the reſpective Spoils that each of you has brought home, how hard would it be to determine which were the moſt valuable? What ſmart Enſign of Quality does not warm his Imagination with the Remembrance of your Lord's Glory? What young, fluttering Maid of Honour, does not think with Rapture of your Grace's Almightineſs? Who, reflecting on both, can help making free with the Pindaric Flight of *Dryden* to give Vent to his Admiration?

Happy! happy! happy Pair!
None but the Brave deſerve the Fair!

To return: Your Grace finiſhes your ironical Account of the Danger of the Church with the following Paragragh.

'But, what was worſe than all theſe 'Misfortunes, the Majority of the Houſe of 'Commons in the new Parliament of 1705, '*proved* to be Whig.'

I could have wiſhed, for the Sake of Uniformity, your Grace had thought proper to make uſe of your favourite Word *happen'd* inſtead of *prov'd*: For ſo effectually have you there concealed, or endeavoured to con-

ceal the Craft of the Politician, that we are taught to believe, thoſe at the Helm left the People entirely to themſelves, and the Majority PROV'D to be *Whig*, without the leaſt Advance on their Sides, to accompliſh what concern'd them above all Things.

But there is no Excuſe for Pleaſantry on ſuch an affecting Occaſion.

We have here the moſt alarming Proof imaginable of the Influence of Miniſters over our Elections: when they would have Tories return'd, we return Tories; when they would have Whigs return'd, we return Whigs: ſo that in fact, the Court is rather repreſented than the People. What Wonder then, that Supplies are always granted, and that Grievances are never redreſſed?

Let us however examine, how this Majority proved themſelves to be Whig?

Why, they carried the Court-Candidate for the Chair, by upwards of ſixty; they moſt faithfully echo'd back the Words of the Speech in their Addreſs; they vied with the Tories in precipitating the Supplies; they addreſs'd her Majeſty to preſerve a good Correſpondence with her Allies; they voted

the Church not to be in Danger; they committed Mr. *Cæsar*, one of their Members, to the Tower, for only dropping in one of his Speeches; *That there was a noble Lord*, (meaning *Godolphin*) *without whose Advice the Queen did nothing, who, in the late Reign, was known to keep a constant Correspondence with the Court of* St. Germains. They thank'd the Duke of *Marlborough* for his Services; they agreed with the Lords in *repealing* that Clause in the Act of Settlement, which disabled *Placemen* from sitting in the House of Commons; they voted the public Revenues to have been duly apply'd; and, notwithstanding their boasted Attachment to the House of *Hanover*, they voted Sir *Rowland Gwynne*'s Letter to the Earl of *Stamford*, relating to the Motion for the Princess *Sophia*'s being invited to reside in *England*, to be a malicious Libel, *&c.*

In the Progress of this Undertaking of mine, Madam, I have made no Scruple to consider both Whigs and Tories as Factions alike: For tho' each pleaded a Concern for the Public, neither appears to have had any Thing at Heart, for the general, but their

own private Intereſt. Thus which ever were out of Power, grew at the ſame Time out of Humour too, and, to gratify their Spleen and Reſentment, were not aſhamed to deny and oppoſe the very Meaſures they had formerly eſpouſed; or to eſpouſe what they had formerly oppoſed and denied.

True public Spirit can have no private End. How little then will fall to the Share of either Whig or Tory, if we may judge of their Principles by their Actions?

In *January* 1702, the Tories in the Houſe of Commons had like to have put a Negative on a Clauſe from the Lords, to render it High-Treaſon to make any Attempt on the *Hanover*-Succeſſion; the Affirmative having been carry'd but by one Vote; and yet now, having been ſupplanted by the Whigs, they diſcovered a flaming Zeal to invite over the Princeſs *Sophia* to take up her Reſidence among us, with ſuch Appointments, Honours and Diſtinctions, as were thought ſuitable to the preſumptive Heireſs to the Crown.

To be candid; your Grace, in my humble Opinion, has ſtated this Matter ſo fairly, that I ſhall quote your Authority, inſtead of endeavouring to put in an Anſwer.

'No Wonder if, in theſe ſad Circumſtances, a loud and piteous Cry was raiſed upon the extreme Danger of the poor Church. A doleful Piece, penn'd by ſome of the Zealots of the Party, and called *The Memorial of the Church of England*, was printed and ſpread abroad, ſetting forth her melancholy Condition and Diſtreſs; and much Lamentation it occaſioned. But what Remedy? There could be no Hope of getting an *Occaſional-Conformity-Bill* paſſed in this Parliament. One Expedient ſtill remained; and this was, to invite the Princeſs *Sophia* of *Hanover*, the preſent King's Grandmother, to come over and defend the Church. Her Preſence here, though ſhe would not probably, as being a *Lutheran*, be very zealous for a Bill againſt Occaſional Conformiſts, yet might happily prove a Means to hinder the Whigs from bringing in Popery and the Pretender. A

'Motion

'Motion was therefore made in the Houſe
'of Lords for this Invitation; and the Ne-
'ceſſity of it was urged with great Strength
'of Argument by the Earls of *Rocheſter* and
'*Nottingham*, and the other grave Men of
'the Party. Not that they had the leaſt
'Hope or the leaſt Deſire to carry their
'Point, but being well aſſured that the
'Queen would never conſent to ſuch an In-
'vitation, nor pardon her Miniſters if they
'encouraged the Deſign; this was a notable
'Stratagem to ruin them, either with her
'Majeſty, or with the Nation; for if in
'Compliance with her Prejudices they op-
'poſed this Motion, it was to be hoped it
'would draw the public Odium upon them,
'as declared Enemies to the Proteſtant Suc-
'ceſſion.

Thus far all is ſmooth: But how ſhall we hobble over what follows?

'This hopeful Scheme however did not
'ſucceed. The * Whigs oppoſed the Invi-
'tation,

* The' the Whigs, in this Caſe, certainly did what was right, it is ſhrewdly to be queſtion'd whether they acted upon Principle; ſince no one Circumſtance could have given ſuch Strength

'tation, and yet preſerv'd their *Credit*, to the great Mortification of the other Party. I know that my Lord *Godolphin*, and other great Men, were *much reflected* upon by ſome well-diſpoſed Perſons, for not laying hold of this Opportunity, which the Tories put into their Hands, of more effectually ſecuring the Succeſſion to the Crown in the Houſe of *Hanover*. But thoſe of the Whigs, whoſe Anger againſt the Miniſtry was raiſed on this Account, little knew how impracticable the Project of *Invitation* was, and that the Attempt would have only ſerved to make the Queen *diſcard* her *Miniſtry*, to the Ruin of the common Cauſe of theſe Kingdoms, and of all Europe. I had OFTEN tried her Majeſty upon this Subject; and when I found that ſhe would not hear of the *immediate Succeſſor*'s coming over, had *preſſed* her that ſhe would at leaſt invite hither the young Prince of

Strength to them as a Faction, as the Preſence of a Prince of the Houſe of *Hanover*: And that this was their real Sentiment, appear'd plainly enough afterwards, when again *out of Place*. —— Then, as to the *Preſervation* of *their Credit*, Sir *R. Gaymer*'s Letter, before-mentioned, is written expreſly to expoſe them for deſerting the Cauſe they had eſpouſed.

'*Hanover*,

"*Hanover*, who was not to be her immediate Succeſſor, and that ſhe would let him "live here as her Son. But her Majeſty "would liſten to no Propoſals of this Kind in "any Shape whatſoever.

Theſe laſt are really thundering Articles, Madam. THE RUIN OF THE COMMON CAUSE OF ALL EUROPE, (GOD bleſs us!) would have been involved in the Diſgrace of the *Marlborough-Family!* According to my narrow Way of thinking, the Treſpaſs of the Tories conſiſted chiefly in the Inſult offered by this Motion to the known Sentiments of the Queen; and the Uneaſineſs it muſt unavoidably give her. But, alas! their Guilt was of a much deeper Dye. They had even the Barbarity to plot the Ruin of the *Marlborough-Family*, either with the Nation or the Queen, and by Conſequence, it ſeems, the Ruin of all EUROPE.

Well, but after all, it appears, that even your Grace had not only, in private, eſpouſed this Meaſure of the Tories, but practiſed to bring the Queen herſelf into it likewiſe; had diſputed every Inch of Ground

with

with her Majeſty, from the Claims of the good old Lady the Grandmother, to the Hopes of the forward, young Prince, our preſent moſt gracious Sovereign; nay, *preſſed* her to a Compliance; and it is upon the Evidence, ariſing from the Defeat YOU had met with, that the Whigs are given to underſtand how UTTERLY IMPRACTICABLE the Project of Invitation was: For, if ſhe was not to be moved by YOU, both Parties, both Houſes, Miniſters and People, Friends and Foes, would have join'd their Forces in vain.

The Queen however continued firm, continued inexorable; and it greatly redounds to her Honour that ſhe did ſo: Had ſhe been either awed or wheadled out of her Reſolution, ſhe would, thenceforward, have been render'd but a Royal Cypher in public as well as private, and muſt have ſubmitted to hear her Commands diſputed, inſtead of ſeeing them obeyed.

To endeavour to force her Succeſſor upon her, was certainly an Indignity that ſcarce the moſt reſigned Temper could give Way to:

And

And every Eſſay towards it, under whatever Maſk concealed, apparently deſerved her Royal Reſentment.

That, therefore, it did not fall with its whole Weight upon your Grace, for thwarting her Inclinations, in order to diſentangle the Miniſtry from the Snare they were ſtruggling in, is one of thoſe Inſtances of uncommon Moderation and Forbearance, which diſtinguiſh this Reign almoſt from all others.

Upon the Whole, then, if what follows, taken from your own *Account*, concludes ſtrongly againſt the Tories for making ſuch a factious Uſe of the *Hanover* Succeſſion, it certainly concludes almoſt as ſtrongly againſt your Grace likewiſe, for being a Voluntier, tho' from different Motives, in the ſame ungrateful Service.

'To give a full Anſwer to all Objections 'againſt the Miniſter's Conduct with Regard 'to this Matter, I ſhall here relate a Tranſ-'action that paſſed three Years afterwards, 'which will ſhow not only the Inſincerity of 'the Tories in their Zeal for the Houſe of '*Hanover*, when they moved for the Prin-

'ceſs

'ceſs *Sophia*'s being invited hither, but how
'*inſuperably averſe* the Queen was to ſuffer
'the Preſence of any of that Family.

'My Lord *Haverſham*, a great Speech-
'maker, and Publiſher of his Speeches, and
'who was become the Mouth of the Party
'for any extraordinary Alarm, was ſent pri-
'vately by the Tories to the Queen, to ac-
'quaint her with the Diſcovery they pre-
'tended to have made, of a terrible Deſign
'formed by the Whigs to bring over one of
'the Houſe of *Hanover*, and to force this
'upon her whether ſhe would or not. Now
'can any Thing be more curious than ſuch
'a Meſſage from the Tories, and by ſuch a
'Meſſenger? For my Lord *Haverſham* was
'the Man who had moved for the Princeſs
'*Sophia*'s coming over as a Thing neceſſary
'for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Re-
'ligion. But *now* any Deſign of inviting
'hither one of that Family was of ſo fright-
'ful a Nature, that it muſt be eſteemed me-
'ritorious to give early Notice of the Dan-
'ger. I ſhall make no further Comment
'upon this Proceeding, but tranſcribe a Part

'of

'of the Queen's Letter to the Duke of *Marl-*
'*borough* upon this Occaſion.

July 22d 1708.

'——— I cannot end this without giving
'you an Account in ſhort, of a Viſit I had
'from Lord *Haverſham*. He told me his
'Buſineſs was to let me know, there was
'certainly a Deſign laying between the
'WHIGS and ſome GREAT MEN, to have
'an Addreſs made in the next Seſſions of Par-
'liament for inviting the Electoral Prince
'over to ſettle here, and that he would
'certainly come to make a Viſit, as ſoon as
'the Campaign was over, and that there
'was nothing for me to do, to prevent my
'being forced to do this, (as I certainly
'would) but my ſhowing myſelf to be
'Queen, and making it my own Act. I
'told him, if this Matter ſhould be brought
'into Parliament, whoever propoſed it,
'whether Whig or Tory, I ſhould look
'upon neither of them as my Friends, nor
'would ever make any Invitation neither to

'the

'the young Man, nor his Father, nor his 'Grandmother.

'——— What I have to ſay upon this 'Subject, at this Time, is, to beg you 'would find whether there is any Deſign 'where you are, that the young Man ſhould 'make a Viſit in the Winter, and contrive 'ſome Way to put any ſuch Thought out 'of their Head, that the Difficulty may not 'be brought upon me of refuſing him Leave 'to come, if he ſhould aſk for it, or forbid-'ding him to come, if he ſhould attempt 'it: For one of theſe two Things *I muſt do*, 'if either he or his Father ſhould have any 'Deſires to have him ſee this Country, it be-'ing a Thing *I cannot bear*, to have ANY 'Succeſſor here, though but for a WEEK: 'And therefore I ſhall depend upon you, to 'do every Thing on the other Side of the 'Water to prevent this MORTIFICATION 'from coming upon her, that is, and ever 'will be, moſt ſincerely, *&c.*

But it is neceſſary to accompany your Grace a little further on this Topic.

'It was upon this Occaſion, that the 'Queen gave the firſt Indications of any 'Thing like a real Reconcilement to the 'Whigs.

And again, afterwards.

'She had been preſent at the Debates in 'the Houſe of Lords upon that Subject, and 'had heard the Duke of *Buckingham* treat 'her with great Diſreſpect, urging as an Ar-'gument for inviting over the Princeſs *So-'phia*, that the Queen might live till ſhe 'did not know what ſhe did, and be *like 'a Child in the Hands of others*; and a great 'deal to the ſame Effect. Such rude Treat-'ment from the Tories, and the Zeal and 'Succeſs of the Whigs in oppoſing a Mo-'tion ſo extremely diſagreeable to her, occa-'ſioned her to write to me in the following 'Terms.

'——I believe, dear Mrs. *Freeman* and 'I ſhall not diſagree as we have formerly 'done; for I am ſenſible of the Services thoſe 'People have done me that you have a good 'Opinion of, and will countenance them,

'and am thoroughly convinced of the Malice 'and Inſolence of *them*, that you have al- 'ways been ſpeaking againſt.

'And at this ſame Time, her Majeſty au- 'thorized my Lord *Godolphin* to give the ut- 'moſt Aſſurances to the chief Men of the '*Whigs*, that ſhe would put herſelf and her 'Affairs into *ſuch Hands* as they ſhould '*approve*, and would do every Thing poſ- 'ſible for the Security of the Proteſtant Suc- 'ceſſion.

Thus it appears that the Tories fell in the very Snare they had laid for the Whigs, and, by rendring themſelves perſonally obnoxious to the Queen, loſt the only Hold they had then left:

That where Faction is Paramount, every Service done to the Sovereign, however juſt and reaſonable in its own Nature, is made a Jobb by the Miniſter and his Tools:

That when the Tories quarrelled among themſelves, and the Majority ſet themſelves in Oppoſition to the *Marlborough-Family*, the *Marlborough Family* countenanced the

Whigs; not in Compliment to their Political Creed, but, from the Dictates of Self-defence, to counterbalance the Deſigns of thoſe who meditated their Overthrow:

That the Whigs, as before inſinuated, acted on *Swiſs*-Principles, and expected to be paid the Top Price of the Market, for coming plumb into the Meaſures of the Court, at the Expence of their former Profeſſions:

That the Queen was, on all Hands, conſidered and treated as a mere Property, which was to be engroſſed, divided or tranſferred, as ſuited beſt with the mercenary Views of thoſe State-Brokers, who had the Privilege of dividing the Spoil:

That the Whigs, having no natural Intereſt in her Majeſty, depended ſolely upon the Miniſtry for the Compenſation of their Services:

And that the Miniſtry, for their Parts, hop'd, by Means of their new Allies, to *have* and to *hold*, as the Lawyers ſay, the Queen to themſelves: Nay, took Advantage of her overflowing Gratitude, to exact a Sort of Promiſe of this Royal Monopoly,

which,

which, as afterwards appeared, they reſolv'd to make the moſt of.

This was the State of Affairs at Court, when the Motion ſo often mentioned was defeated. Your Grace and your Aſſociates then began to flatter yourſelves, that even the Prerogative was not better eſtabliſhed than your Vicegerency: That you might not only recommend a Point or a Perſon, but inſiſt upon either as underſtood in your Grant, as a Perquiſite of your high Office; and that you might exclude from the Royal Preſence every Body who had not the Happineſs of being in your good Graces, without even ſhewing Cauſe for ſo doing.

But an unexpected Obſtacle aroſe to thwart and perplex this new-erected Empire of your's, even in its Infancy: Mr. *Harley*, the new Secretary, juſtly alarm'd at the Queen's giving up herſelf and her Power into the Hands of any Junto whatever, without Reſerve, thought it his Duty now to unfold to her Majeſty, the ſecond Part of his Scheme, which, as above-hinted, was,

* That the Queen might reign for herſelf, and judge for herſelf; That her Subjects, without Diſtinction, might have Acceſs to her; That all might both be reconciled to her, and to each other: In ſhort, That ſhe might be fully inſtructed both in the Characters of Perſons and Matters of Fact; and act as well by Knowledge as Advice.

Yes, Madam, this was the formidable Scheme of *Supplanting*, which your Grace is pleaſed to mention with ſuch Indignation; what you then treated with ſuch Reſentment; what you called, *the letting in the Mob upon her Majeſty, and into the Secret of Affairs*; and what you endeavoured to defeat, by objecting, That an Intereſt in the Queen was of too much Importance in itſelf, and of too ſacred a Nature, to be ſhar'd out among the Vulgar; and that her Majeſty would ſoon grow cheap, if ſhe was expos'd to the familiar Approach of every forward Pretender.

* As confirm'd by her Grace in the following Words.
'The firſt Artifice of thoſe Counſellors was, to inſtill into 'the Queen, Notions of the high Prerogative of *acting without her Miniſters*, and (as they expreſſed it) of being *Queen 'indeed*.' Account, *p.* 211.

But

But theſe artificial Turns happened not to have all the deſired Succeſs; her Majeſty was perfectly convinced that Mr. *Harley*'s Sentiments were well founded; and, even from the Oppoſition that was made to them, conceived immediately how neceſſary it was to follow them: In effect, notwithſtanding your Grace's Lectures to the contrary, ſhe render'd her Behaviour in a good Degree conformable to it; and if ſhe did not again receive the Tories into her Councils, ſhe did not behave ſo as to make them conclude it was impoſſible.

This was what your Grace could not bear: And from the Moment the Diſcovery was made, Mr. *Harley*'s Ruin was determined, as will appear more evidently in the ſubſequent Pages.

The Whigs, indeed preſuming on their late Service, gave themſelves Airs of Importance, and expected, nay demanded to be over-paid: which gave no ſmall Umbrage, as you very well know, Madam, to the Miniſtry; who, being at the Head of all Things, could ill digeſt ſuch Treatment;

and accordingly, rather kept them in Hope, than enter'd into full Confidence with them; yet not ſo dextrouſly, but the Undertakers for the Whigs got into the Secret, and play'd faſt and looſe in their Turns, till an Occaſion offer'd to make their own Terms, as will appear in its proper Place.

With regard to our mighty Enterprizes abroad this Summer, our Glory ſeems to have been at the full; and our Poſterity will read with Aſtoniſhment, that thoſe who ſo well knew how to conquer, ſhould ſo little know how to improve their Victories.

May the 14th, the Duke of *Marlborough* ſet out for *Holland*; and *Auguſt* 12th obtained a complete Victory over the *French*, commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria* and Marſhal *Villeroy* at RAMILLIES; which was followed by a general Revolution in the *Low-Countries* in Favour of King *Charles*, and the Reduction of *Namur*, *Dendermond*, *Aeth*, and *Oſtend*.

In *Italy*, enabled by a Loan of 250,000 l. from *England*, Prince *Eugene*, after thirty-four Marches to join the Duke of *Savoy*, offered

offered Battle to the *French* who laid Siege to *Turin*; and after two Hours Engagement, in which the Marſhal *Marſin* was kill'd, and the Duke of *Orleans* wounded, utterly defeated them, ſeiz'd on their Camp, Tents, Baggage, *&c.* and relieved that Capital.

In *Spain*, King *Charles* was cloſely beſieged in *Barcelona*, by the Marſhal *de Theſſe* by Land, and the Count *de Thouloufe* by Sea; but was moſt opportunely relieved by the gallant Earl of *Peterborough* and Sir *John Leake*; the Count *de Thouloufe* not ſtaying till the *Engliſh* Fleet appeared in Sight, and the Marſhal *de Theſſe* decamping with the utmoſt Confuſion a few Days after, and leaving his Ammunition, Stores, Tents, and even his ſick and wounded Men at the Mercy of the Enemy.

But barely to mention the Earl of *Peterborough*, would be an Injury to his Memory; he deſerves much more, and your Grace muſt excuſe me, if I go a little out of my Way, both to diſplay the Uſage he met with; as likewiſe what Advantages we then ſuffered to ſlip

thro'

thro' our Hands; tho' *Spain* was underſtood to be the principal Cauſe of the War, and what we were moſt determined to reſtore to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. In doing which I ſhall not ſpeak from my own Authority, but that of a late noble Lord, whoſe Knowledge of public Affairs, and his Ability to ſet them forth, were never yet quoted without Applauſe.

The brave Earl of *Peterborough* had gone on with a Courſe of ſurprizing Succeſſes in *Spain*; Cities and Kingdoms were reduced to the Obedience of King *Charles* even faſter than the Couriers could bring us the Intelligence; and his Competitor muſt have been driven quite out in the ſecond Campaign, had not that King been unhappily diverted from purſuing the right Meaſures that had been concerted; and another General neglected both the ſecuring of *Madrid*, and the getting in Proviſions to ſupport the Army for a few Weeks.

After

After this Miſcarriage the Earl went to *Genoa*, and pawn'd his own Credit to take up Money to preſerve the Army from ſtarving; from thence he proceeded to *Turin*, and form'd ſuch a Scheme for the taking of *Toulon*, that (morally ſpeaking) it could not have miſcarried, if the principal part of the Project, (which was to begin the Campaign early by entring into *Rouſſillon* in order to invade *France* on that ſide, with an Army to be compos'd of a Detachment from *Savoy*, another of but 5000 from our Forces in *Spain*, the reſt to be made up of Miquelets; and when the *French* ſhould have drawn their principal Forces that way, then the Duke of *Savoy* was to have march'd to *Toulon*) had not been diſappointed by the Earl of *Galloway*'s utterly refuſing to ſpare 5000 Men from that Army, on pretence that he had poſitive Orders from *England* not to divide his Forces. Whether he had any ſuch Orders or not, or whether his Orders were to *croſs* all the Earl of *Peterborough*'s Deſigns (which he effectually did) is not

yet

yet plainly diſcovered, but worth the Enquiry of a Parliament in fit time; this is certain, that, when all the World applauded that Earl's Conduct, and whilſt the whole Nation were extreamly pleas'd and gratify'd with his unparallel'd Atchievments, the Miniſters thought fit to *turn him out of all Command*; and that they might affront him beyond Example, they even writ to Foreign Princes to diſcountenance him; whether they were afraid he ſhould *eclipſe* the Glory of *another*, or that *too quick a Period would be put to the War*, or that the *French* King was ſo alarmed at the Progreſs of our Arms in thoſe parts, that he began to make Overtures of Peace (as the Earl had more honeſtly than warily let them know) and might probably give us the Advantage of treating the Peace on that ſide, to the *Diſappointment* of *thoſe* who never intended it ſhould be negociated in any other Place but *Holland*; or whatever it were, they *ſtopp'd* the Progreſs of our Arms in thoſe Parts, loſt two Kingdoms to the Enemy, and

and *depriv'd* their *Country* of the *Services* of one who had, in ſo ſhort a time, given ſuch a Specimen of an enterprizing Genius, ſuch Proofs of his ſuperior Abilities, ſuch Demonſtrations of a Conduct always ſucceſsful, and never ſubject to Miſtakes or Diſappointments; and had made ſo many and ſo great Conqueſts with a handful of Men, that he has rarely been equalled, never exceeded by any General of the preſent or former Times: His Enemies had no better Foundation for their Proceedings againſt him than falſe Reports, Aſperſion and Calumny; and tho', after his coming home, a Miniſter of State ſent him five Articles of pretended Accuſations, yet one of them was grounded on a meer Miſtake of their own, and the Earl juſtify'd himſelf in the other four, by producing their own Directions and Orders for what he had done; ſo far had theſe Miniſters forgotten their own Acts and Deeds; and 'tis ſince evident to the whole Kingdom that they had nothing at all to lay to his Charge; for when, in the next Seſſion, he

he desired to be heard in his own Vindication, his Adversaries had no other shift than to order Multitudes of Papers to be brought in, tiring the House with reading them, still avoiding to enter into any Matter of Fact, and adjourning it from time to time, till they had spun out the Session.'

Thus, however illustrious the Year 1706 was rendered by so many and signal Advantages obtained over *France*, it is evident, that by the Dismission of the Lord *Peterborough*, and the Neglect of the fair Opportunity (which was principally the Growth of his Courage and Conduct) to set K. *Charles* on the Throne of *Spain*, our Losses in point of Interest, more than counterbalanced our Gains in point of Glory.

We must now return to your Grace and the War of Parties; which, notwithstanding the main Bodies were now dispers'd, rag'd with as much Violence as ever among their Leaders.

I have

I have already hinted, that tho' the Miniſters had made uſe of the Whigs, and the Whigs had conform'd to the Meaſures of the Miniſter; this new Alliance was not ſound at Bottom, and each diſtruſted the Sincerity of the other.

If the Miniſters were juſtly afraid of being over-borne by the Cravings, Importunities, and Dictates of an aſſuming Party; they, on the other hand, equally dreaded the Artifices, Doubles, and Circumventions, juſtly to be expected from Miniſters ſo lately at the Head of their Adverſaries.

In order, therefore, to procure Security for the Performance of Articles, they inſiſted on having one ſtaunch Friend of their own in the Secret of Affairs, to whom they might apply, and on whom they might depend: The Perſon they pitched upon was Lord *Sunderland*, another Branch of the *Marlborough*-Family, who ſeems to have been heartily eſpouſed by your Grace, tho' not entirely approv'd of either by the General or the Treaſurer, as is evident from the follow-

following Paſſages out of the *Account* before us.

' But notwithſtanding this, it was not till ' after much Solicitation, that her Majeſty ' could be prevailed with, ſo far to oblige ' the Whigs, as to make my Lord *Sunder-* ' *land* Secretary of State in the Room of Sir ' *Charles Hedges*. The Whigs, after the ' Services they had done, and the Aſſu- ' rances the Queen had given them, thought ' it reaſonable to expect, that *one* of the Se- ' cretaries at leaſt ſhould be ſuch a Man ' as they could place a Confidence in. They ' believed they might truſt my Lord *Sun-* ' *derland*; and though they did not think ' him the propereſt Man for the Poſt, yet ' being my Lord *Marlborough*'s Son-in- ' law, they choſe to recommend him to her ' Majeſty, becauſe, as they expreſſed them- ' ſelves to me, they imagined it was *driving* ' *the Nail that would go*.

' I muſt obſerve here, that my Lord ' *Marlborough* was not, in his Inclination, ' for this Promotion of my Lord *Sunder-* ' *land*.

'*land*. I have a Letter from him expreſſing his *Diſlike* to the Deſign. But how hard preſſed both he and my Lord *Godolphin* were by the Whigs to have it brought to Effect, will fully appear by the following Letter on the ſame Subject.

Gramtz October 1706.

'When I writ my laſt, I was very full of the Spleen, and I think with too much Reaſon. My whole Time, to the beſt of my Underſtanding, has been employed for the public Good, as I do aſſure you I do in the Preſence of God, neglecting no Opportunity of letting 83 * ſee what I take to be her *true Intereſt*. IT IS TERRIBLE TO GO THROUGH SO MUCH UNEASINESS. I do not ſay this to flatter any Party, for I will never do it, let the Conſequence be what it will. FOR, AS PARTIES, THEY ARE BOTH IN THE WRONG. But 'tis certain ‡ 73 and

* The Queen.

‡ No doubt the Lord *Rochester*; but her Grace ought to have favoured us with an Explanation of this Signature as well as of the reſt.

'his Adherents are not to be TRUSTED. 'So that 83 * has no Choice, but that of 'employing thoſe who will *carry on the War* and ſupport 91 †. And if any other 'Method is taken, I know we ſhall go into 'CONFUSION. Now this being the Caſe, 'I leave you to judge, whether I am dealt 'kindly with? I do not ſay this for any 'other End, but to have your Juſtice and 'Kindneſs; for in that will conſiſt my fu-'ture Happineſs. I am ſure I would ven-'ture a thouſand Lives, if I had them, to 'procure Eaſe and Happineſs to the Queen. 'And yet no Number of Men could per-'ſuade me to act as a Miniſter in what 'was not my Opinion. So that I ſhall ne-'ver fail in ſpeaking my Mind very freely. 'And as my Opinion is, that the *Tackers* 'and all the Adherents of 73 are NOT for '*carrying on the War*, which is for the 'TRUE INTEREST of the Queen and 'Kingdom, you may depend I ſhall never

* The Queen. † Lord *Godolphin*.

'join

'join with any but such as I think will 'serve her and the *true Interest* of our 'Country with all their Hearts. And if 'the War continues but one Year longer, 'with Success, I hope it will not be in any 'body's *Power* to make the Queen's *Busi-* 'ness uneasy. And then I shall be glad to 'live as quiet as possible, and not envy the 'governing Men, who would then I believe 'think better of 90 and 91 * than they 'now do. And I will own frankly to you, 'that the JEALOUSY some of YOUR 'FRIENDS have, that 90 and 91 do not 'act *sincerely*, makes me so weary, that 'were it not for my Gratitude for 83, and 'Concern for 91, I would now retire, 'and never serve more. For I have had 'the good Luck to deserve better from all '*Englishmen*, than to be suspected for not 'being in the *true Interest* of my Country; 'which I am in, and ever will be, with- 'out being of a FACTION. And this Prin-

* Lord *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin*.

'ciple ſhall govern me for the little Re-
'mainder of my Life. I muſt not think
'of being popular; but I ſhall have the Sa-
'tisfaction of my going to the Grave with
'the Opinion of having acted, as became
'an honeſt Man. And if I have your Eſ-
'teem and Love, I ſhould think myſelf
'entirely happy. Having writ thus far
'I have received your two Letters of the
'20th and 21ſt, which confirm me in my
'Opinion before. And ſince the Reſolu-
'tion is taken to *vex* and *ruin* 91, becauſe
'83 has *not complied* with what was de-
'ſired for 117 *, I ſhall from henceFor-
'ward deſpiſe all Mankind, and think there
'is no ſuch thing as Virtue. For I know
'with what Zeal 91 has preſſed 83 in
'that Matter. I do pity him, and ſhall
'always love him as long as I live; and
'never be a Friend to any that can be his
'Enemy.

'I have writ my Mind very freely to 83 †, on this Occaſion, ſo that whatever

* Lord *Sunderland*. † The Queen.

'Mis-

'Misfortune may happen, I ſhall have a 'quiet Mind, having done what I thought 'my Duty. And as for the Reſolution of 'making me uneaſy, I believe they will 'not have much Pleaſure in that, for as I 'have not ſet my Heart on having Juſtice 'done me, I ſhall not be diſappointed; nor 'will I be ill uſed by any Man.

I cannot, Madam, paſs over this remarkable Letter of ſo remarkable a Man, without ſome Reflections upon it, which I hope will carry with them their own Juſtification.

His Grace, in the firſt Place, ſeems to be thoroughly perſuaded that the carrying on the War was the TRUE INTEREST of his Country: If, therefore, he was miſtaken, it muſt be aſcribed to a Defect in his Underſtanding, not to the Influence of Gain or Glory; tho' it does not appear that he was inſenſible of either.

But to let us ſee with what Partiality we regard ourſelves, we find this Hero ſo affected with the Rage of Parties, that he cannot

help expreſſing himſelf on the Occaſion in this paſſionate Manner. IT IS TERRIBLE TO GO THROUGH SO MUCH UNEASINESS: And yet entirely thoughtleſs of what his Royal Miſtreſs, tho' a Woman, ſuffer'd from the like Perſecutions.

I will, however, do him the Juſtice to acknowledge, that the Sentence he pronounces on the two Parties, *That they are both in the* WRONG, ought to be recorded in Letters of Gold, where-ever the Legiſlature aſſembles, where-ever the Throne is plac'd; as a Truth ſelf-evident, and of the laſt Importance, both to Prince and People.

Having done this Juſtice to the Duke, we muſt now return to your Grace; whom we ſhall find battling the Point, Foot to Foot, with the Queen, without any of thoſe Qualms, which gave ſuch *terrible Uneaſineſs* to your Lord.

But it is fit your Grace ſhould ſpeak for your ſelf.

I ſhall here add a Letter of my own to the Queen on the ſame Subject; and the rather, becauſe it not only confirms what I have

'have ſaid of her Majeſty's *Unwillingneſs to* '*oblige the Whigs*, but ſhews, that as much 'as I oppoſed the Tories, I was no Enemy 'to the *Church* they *talked of*, ſo far as any 'Thing *real* and *excellent* was meant by that '*Word*; and becauſe it contains ſo juſt a 'PREDICTION of the Uſage, the Queen af-'terwards met with, when ſhe fell into the 'Hands of the High-Church Party.

'By the Letter I had from your Majeſty 'this Morning, and the great Weight you 'put upon the Difference betwixt the Word 'Notion and Nation in my Letter, I am on-'ly made ſenſible (as by many other Things) 'that you were in a great Diſpoſition to com-'plain of me, ſince, to this Moment, I can-'not for my Life ſee any eſſential Difference 'betwixt theſe two Words, as to the Senſe of 'my Letter, the true Meaning of which was 'only to let your Majeſty know, with that 'Faithfulneſs and Concern, which I have 'ever had for your Service, *that it was not* '*poſſible for you to carry on your Government* '*much longer*, with ſo much *Partiality* to

'one Sort of Men, tho' they loſe no Occaſion
'of diſſerving you, and of ſhowing the greateſt
'*Inveteracy (a favourite Expreſſion)* againſt
'my Lord *Marlborough* and my Lord Treaſu-
'rer; and ſo much *Diſcouragement* to others,
'who even, after great Diſobligations, have
'taken ſeveral Opportunities to ſhow their
'Firmneſs to your Majeſty's Intereſt, and their
'Zeal to ſupport you, and your Miniſters
'too, ONLY becauſe they had been faithful
'and uſeful Servants to you and the Public.

'This was all the Senſe and Meaning of
'my Letter, and if you *can* find *Fault* with
'this, I am ſo unhappy as that *you muſt al-*
'*ways find Fault with me*, for *I am unca-*
'*pable of thinking otherwiſe as long as I live,*
'*or of acting now but upon the ſame Prin-*
'*ciple that I ſerved you before you came to*
'*the Crown for ſo many Years, when your*
'*unlimited Favour and Kindneſs to me, could*
'*never tempt me to make Uſe of it in one*
'*ſingle Inſtance that was not for your Inte-*
'*reſt and Service.* I am afraid I have been
'too long in explaining my Thoughts upon
'the Subject of my own Letter, which it

'ſeems

'ſeems has been ſo great an *Offence*, and
'how juſtly I leave you to judge; and I
'muſt beg your Patience, *ſince I am not very*
'*like to trouble you again*, to let me ſay
'ſomething upon the Subject of your Letter
'to my Lord Treaſurer, which he has *ſhewn*
'*me to Day*, with more Concern than I
'know how to expreſs: This was indeed the
'Subject of my own Letter, and the Occa-
'ſion of it, for I do not only ſee the Unea-
'ſineſs and the Grief he has to *leave* your
'Service, when you ſeem ſo deſirous he
'ſhould continue in it; but I ſee as well as
'he, the *Impoſſibility* of his being able to
'ſupport it, or himſelf, or my Lord *Marl-*
'*borough*, FOR IT ALL HANGS UPON
'ONE THREAD; and when they are FOR-
'CED TO LEAVE YOUR SERVICE, *you will*
'*then, indeed, find yourſelf in the Hands of*
'*a violent Party, who I am ſure will have*
'*very little Mercy or even Humanity for you.*
'Whereas you might *prevent* all theſe Miſ-
'fortunes, by giving my Lord Treaſurer and
'my Lord *Marlborough* (whom you may ſo
'ſafely truſt) *Leave to propoſe thoſe Things*

'*to*

' to you, *which they know and can judge to*
' *be absolutely necessary for your Service*,
' which will put it in their Power to *influ-*
' *ence* those, who have given you Proofs both
' of their being able to serve you, and of
' their desiring to make you great and happy.
' But rather than your Majesty will employ
' a PARTY-MAN, as you are pleased to call
' Lord *Sunderland*, you will put all Things
' in CONFUSION, *(an Expression borrowed*
' *from the Duke)* and at the same Time that
' you say this, you employ Sir *C. Hedges*,
' who is in one against you, only that he has
' voted in remarkable Things that he might
' keep his Place; and he did the same Thing
' in the late King's Time, till at last, that
' every Body saw he was just dying, and he
' could lose nothing by differing with that
' Court; But formerly he voted with those
' Men, the Enemies to this Government call
' Whigs, and if he had not been a Party-man,
' how could he have been a Secretary of State,
' when all your Councils were influenced
' by my Lord *R.* Lord *Nott*, Sir *E. Seymour*,
' and about six or seven more just such Men,
' that call themselves *the Heroes for the Church?*

' But

'But what Church can any Man be of that 'would disturb so just a Government as 'your's, or how can any Body be in the 'TRUE INTEREST of *England*, that op- 'poses you and your *Ministers*, by whose 'Advice, in four Years Time, you are very 'near pulling down the Power of *France*, 'and making *that Religion they only talk of*, '*not only more secure than in any of the 'late Reigns, but putting it upon a better 'Foundation than it has been since the Re- 'formation?*

'You are pleased to say you think it a 'great Hardship, to persuade a Man to 'part with a Place he is in Possession of, 'for one that is not vacant. In some Cases 'that were certainly right, but not in this; 'for Sir *Charles Hedges* can have the PLACE 'he desires immediately, and it is much bet- 'ter for him, unless he could be Secretary 'of State for Life. He will have *two Places* 'that are *considerable*, one of which he can 'compass *no other Way*, and this is so far 'from being a Hardship, that he and all the 'World must think it a great Kindness done

'him,

'him, and he muſt be a very weak Man, if 'he loſt the Opportunity of having ſuch a 'Certainty, when he can't flatter himſelf 'that (*whatever happens*) he can be *ſupport-* '*ed* long in a Place of that Conſequence for 'which he is ſo unfit. He has no Capacity, 'no Quality, no Intereſt, nor ever could have 'been in that Poſt, but that every Body 'knows, my Lord *Rocheſter* cares for no- 'thing ſo much as a Man that he thinks 'will depend upon him. I beg your Ma- 'jeſty's Pardon for not waiting upon you, 'and I perſuade myſelf, that long as my Let- 'ter is, it will be leſs troubleſom to your 'Majeſty.'

'It was a Wonder to many, that this Af- 'fair of my Lord *Sunderland*'s Promotion 'met with ſuch Difficulties, conſidering his 'Relation to my Lord *Marlborough*, whoſe 'Merit with his Queen and Country was 'every Year augmenting. For, whilſt this 'Matter was in Suſpence, he obtained the 'Victory of *Ramillies*: On which Occaſion 'Her Majeſty in a Letter dated from *Kenſing-* 'ton, *May* 17, 1706, told him —— She

'wanted

'wanted Words to expreſs the true Senſe ſhe 'had of the great Service he had done *his* 'Country and *her*, in that great and glori-'ous Victory, and hoped that it would be a 'Means to confirm all good and honeſt People 'in their Principles, and frighten others from 'being troubleſom; ——— *and then ſpoke* 'of the Allay it was to all her Satisfaction, 'to conſider what Hazards he was expoſed 'to, ——— *and repeated an obliging Requeſt* '*ſhe had often made*, that he would be care-'ful of himſelf. I cannot doubt of the 'Queen's kind Diſpoſitions to my Lord '*Marlborough* at this Time, or her Willing-'neſs, in *general*, to oblige him. And it 'quickly appeared that the Difficulties raiſed 'by her Majeſty againſt parting with Sir '*Charles Hedges*, were wholly owing to the '*Artifice* and *Management* of Mr. *Harley*, 'the other Secretary of State, whoſe Intereſt 'and ſecret Tranſactions with the Queen, 'were then doubtleſs in their Beginning.'

As in War there is no kind of Advantage that affords ſo much Satisfaction, as to turn the

the Enemies Artillery on themselves: So in Controversy, Truth is never more acceptable than when forced out of the very Passages which are meant to conceal it: And if all the Features of a domineering Faction, and a Minion-ridden Sovereign are to be found to the Life in the foregoing Epistle of your Grace's, what abundant Matter have you furnished with your own Hand to set forth the Triumph of your Adversaries?

And that they are, what Pretence is there to question, when we see your Grace entering into the Lists with your Royal Mistress, and throwing down your Gage as the avowed Championess of her Ministers; presuming to declare that her very Government was in Danger, if not depositted solely in their Keeping; reproaching her Majesty with Partiality to some, and, in Behalf of others, complaining of Discouragements and Disobligations; declaring an obstinate Adherence to your former Sentiments, whether pleasing or not; and, with a menacing Air, signifying it was like to be the last Trouble you would give her; denouncing it as a

Judgment, that, as soon as she was left by these mighty Colleagues, she would find her self in the Hands, and at the Mercy of her Enemies; and that leave her they would, if not authorized to reign in her Stead, and do all Things according to their own good Will and Pleasure; charging her with Inconsistencies; decrying every Person she inclined to favour; and, in short, turning your Back upon her with a Sullenness and Haughtiness beyond Example?

If this is not a lively Picture of an insulted Queen, and a presuming Favourite; of Majesty itself exposed to that *Uneasiness*, which the Duke of *Marlborough*, a Subject, found by Experience so TERRIBLE TO GO THROUGH; of being under the Tyranny of a Faction; of being terrified out of her own Authority; and compelled to obey the Dictates of her own Servants; there is no Meaning in Words, and Common Sense is of no Use.

But your Grace was her Familiar; true: And that Familiarity breeds Contempt, was never so notoriously exemplified before. Was

it,

it, however, right to ſuffer this ſecret to eſcape? to let the whole World know, that, through the exceſſive Goodneſs of her Majeſty, ſhe was to be moulded into what Shape her Favourite-Miniſters pleaſed? was it not from hence that other People were led to try Practices upon her Temper likewiſe, and to put in at leaſt for a Share of the Spoil? and could not the whole *triple Alliance* club together for as much Addreſs as might have carried their Point, without provoking the Queen to fly for Sanctuary from their Perſecutions, to the firſt Arms that were open to receive her?

Of Sovereigns diſpleaſed with, and reprimanding their Servants, nay ſometimes diſgracing the Beſt, we may find many notable Examples in Hiſtory: But of Servants preſuming to fly in the Face of their Sovereigns; calling them to account for their Conduct, and even inſiſting that they ſhould proceed blindfold, wherever they were led or drove, ſcarce one: This then was reſerved to be the peculiar Diſtinction of your Grace's Regency; and 'tis more than poſſible you

could poſſeſs it to the End of the World without a Rival.

To ſee with her own Eyes, hear with her own Ears, and enjoy the common Uſe of her Faculties, ſeems to be all her Majeſty contended for: But this did not quadrate with the Intereſts of the *Marlborough*-Family; and the Privilege of the meaneſt Subject was not allowed to be any Part of her Prerogative.

All this appears even from the Pittance of Evidence your Grace has thought adviſable to bring to account: What then might we not have expected, if we had been favoured with the whole Controverſy? It appears the Queen began to grow a little more untractable than uſual; you expoſtulate with her thereon; her Majeſty condeſcends to reply to you again; and this Rejoinder of your's is all you have thought fit to make public.——From the Sample let the World judge of the reſt!

But this traverſing of Lord *Sunderland*'s Promotion is charged upon Mr. *Harley*; and, under the Words *Artifice* and *Manage-*

ment, is repreſented as a Crime: So blind is Prejudice! or ſo unjuſt Reſentment!

Mr. *Harley* had openly acquainted Lord *Godolphin*, as well as the Queen, with his Sentiments on the Art of governing by Parties, and the narrow, injurious Expedient of compelling her Majeſty to diſcountenance one Half of her Subjects, in Compliment to the ſiniſter Views of the reſt. Mr. *Harley* was therefore obliged, on his own Principles, to lay before her, in the ſtrongeſt Terms poſſible, the apparent Injuſtice, as well as ill Policy, of diſmiſſing a Man, who had never miſbehaved, in order to gratify a Faction, who, on the Merit of complying with the Meaſures of her Miniſters for one Seſſion, had been forward enough to ſtand upon ſuch high Demands, and even to exact a Compliance from her Majeſty.

And in this you know, Madam, Mr. *Harley* was even more a Friend to the *Marlborough*-Family, than you care now to acknowledge: For the Whigs had never plac'd a thorough Confidence in L. *Godolphin*; and this very Lord *Sunderland*, tho' Son-in-law to your Grace,

was

was obtruded on the Queen, not only by Way of Security for the Performance of Articles; but, when Time ſhould ſerve, to be that very Supplanter, which the Junto, cauſeleſsly at firſt, aprehended in Mr. *Harley*, as anon will be more fully explained.

I ſhall give the Iſſue of this Affair in your Grace's Words, as they ſerve both to illuſtrate the Victory you obtained over the Queen and Mr. *Harley*; and likewiſe at what Expence to the Nation it was then found neceſſary to oblige your Grace, and your good Friends the Whigs.

'As for Sir *Charles Hedges*, when he found 'how backward the Queen was to diſmiſs 'him, he was ſo prudent as to make a *greater* '*Advantage* to himſelf by *quitting* his Poſt, 'than he could have done by *holding it*. 'And in the Winter of 1706, Lord *Sun-*'*derland* was appointed to ſucceed him.

When we reflect on the *Uſe* your Grace has thought fit to make of the ſupreme Confidence placed in you by the Queen, we are not to wonder that the Letters of Mr. *Harley*, and whoever elſe has diſoblig'd you, are

betrayed likewiſe. — You ſeem to have been ever above common Forms, Madam, and conſequently muſt be ſuppoſed to be out of the Reach of common Cenſure for the Breach of them. An Epiſtle of Condolance from Mr. *Harley* to the Duke of *Marlborough* on the Death of Lord *Blandford*, which begins as well as ends with the Word *Servant*, is quoted with as much Ceremony, as if it contained a ſolemn Tender of all his Powers and Faculties, to be wholly and ſolely at his Grace's Devotion, for ever and for aye. —— As if our Judgments of Men did not vary as Men's Actions vary'd; or as if ill Offices had not a Right to cancel even Vows of Friendſhip, tho' made at the Altar.

But, not to loſe Sight of our public Affairs, we muſt here take Notice, that this Year, likewiſe, the Union of the two Kingdoms took Place; an Event of ſo complex a Nature, that I have not Time either to reflect on the *Scots* Act of *Security*, to which principally it owed its Riſe, or on the Means taken to accompliſh it, or the Characters or Views of thoſe employ'd in it, or the Articles it conſiſted of. It is ſufficient

ficient to obſerve, that it was confirm'd by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms; by that of *Scotland*, not without the moſt vehement Oppoſition; by that of *England* with leſs than was expected: The Diviſions in the Houſe of Lords being 50 to 20 in Favour of it; and the Commons agreeing to every Clauſe with ſuch an indecent Rapidity, that the Bill was ſaid to ride *Poſt* thro' the Houſe.

But this was not the only Inſtance of their Complaiſance to the Court: They had ſcarce ſat a Month, before, taking into Conſideration the many eminent Services of *John* Duke of *Marlborough*, they preſented an Addreſs humbly to deſire, 'That, as her Ma-'jeſty was, at *her Expence*, graciouſly plea-'ſed to erect the Houſe of *Blenheim*, and 'the Houſe of Peers, by her Majeſty's 'Permiſſion, had given Riſe to a * Law for 'continuing his Honours to his Poſterity, 'ſo they might be permitted to expreſs their 'Senſe of ſo diſtinguiſhing a Merit, and their

* By this Law which paſſed likewiſe this Seſſion, the Manor of *Woodſtock* and Houſe of *Blenheim* were annexed to thoſe Honours: The ſaid Law was read by the Commons three Times, and paſs'd *Nem. Con.* in one Day.

'ready Diſpoſition to enable her Majeſty to 'make ſome Proviſion for the more honour-'able *Support* of his Dignity in his Poſteri-'ty, *&c.*' Which the Queen, no doubt, underſtanding to flow from their own *mere Motion*, readily complied with; and in conſequence the 5000 *l. per Annum*, in Perpetuity, demanded in the very firſt Year of her Majeſty's Reign, and then civilly refuſed by the Tories, was now carried by the *Whigs* without any Difficulty; which is ſufficient to prove that the Charge of Ingratitude brought againſt the laſt by your Grace, was without Foundation.

They likewiſe ſwallowed the Eſtimates whole, as one may ſay, and diſpatched the Supplies, tho' larger than any ever granted before, in leſs than a Week. Nay, the Miniſtry having run the Nation to the Expence of 800,000*l.* more than was provided for by Parliament, they were notwithſtanding juſtify'd for ſo doing, by a majority of a hundred Voices. Such Difference there is in the Conduct of a Whig when *in* Power, and when *out!*

With

With ſuch a Strength in both Houſes, and ſuch an Aſcendancy over the Queen, who can wonder, on one Hand, that this aſpiring Junto, ſhould inſiſt on having her Majeſty's Will ſubordinate to theirs? And on the other, who can wonder enough that the very Perſon, who had contributed moſt to reduce her to that abject Condition, ſhould, after an Interval of ſo many Years, not only exhibit her in her Fetters, but with Complaints and Reproaches, that ſhe ſhould teſtify the leaſt Reluctance to put them on, or Inclination to ſet herſelf free?

But, leſt this ſhould be thought incredible, let me beg of your Grace to wave your Privilege and kiſs the Book.

'But notwithſtanding this Point (Lord '*Sunderland*'s Promotion) thus carried by 'the Whigs, they were ſoon *alarmed* again 'by the Queen's Choice of two High-church 'Divines, to fill two vacant Biſhopricks. Se-'veral of the Whigs were diſpoſed to think 'themſelves betray'd by the Miniſtry; 'whereas the Truth was, that the Queen's 'Inclination to the Tories being now ſooth'd

'by the Flatteries and Inſinuations of her 'private Counſellors, had begun to make 'it irkſom to her to conſult with her Mi-'niſters upon any Promotions, either in the 'Church or the State. The firſt Artifice of 'thoſe Counſellors was, to inſtill into the 'Queen Notions of the high Prerogative of 'acting without her Miniſters, and (as they 'expreſſed it) of being *Queen indeed*. And 'the Nomination of Perſons to Biſhopricks 'againſt the Judgment and *Remonſtrances* 'of her Miniſtry, being what they knew her 'Genius would fall in with more readily 'than with any Thing elſe they could pro-'poſe, they began with that; and they took 'Care that thoſe *Remonſtrances* ſhould be 'interpreted by the World, and reſented by 'herſelf as hard Uſage, a Denial of common 'Civility, and even *the making her no Queen*.

'Her Majeſty however to *quiet the Diſ-'ſatisfaction* of the Whigs for the late Pro-'motions, ordered her Miniſters to aſſure 'them, that ſhe would prefer no more To-'ries, and ſhe gave the ſame Aſſurances 'with her own Mouth in the Cabinet Coun-

'cil.

'cil. And ſhe was *ſuffered* by her ſecret 'Counſellors ſo far to obſerve this Promiſe, 'as to give, about the ſame Time, the Bi-'ſhoprick of *Norwich* to Doctor *Trimnel*; 'a particular Friend of Lord *Sunderland*'s. 'And ſhe alſo, ſome Time after, gave the 'Profeſſorſhip of Divinity at *Oxford*, to 'Doctor *Potter*, the preſent Archbiſhop of 'Canterbury, who had Doctor *Smaldridge* 'for his Competitor, recommended by the 'Tories. But this latter Favour to the 'Whigs was not ſo eaſily obtain'd as the for-'mer. And, upon the Delays that were 'made in beſtowing it, my Lord *Marlbo-'rough* thought it proper to try what *Cre-'dit* he had with a Queen, WHOSE GLO-'RY HE HAD CARRIED TO A HEIGHT 'BEYOND THAT OF ANY OF HER PRE-'DECESSORS. He wrote therefore a very 'moving Letter to her, complaining of the 'viſible Loſs of his Intereſt with her, and 'particularly of her ſo long *deferring* the 'Promotion ſhe had promiſed, of the Per-'ſon *recommended* by her *Miniſtry*, as a 'faithful Friend to her Government, adding,

'that

'that the only Way to make her Reign '*eaſy*, was to be true to that RULE, which 'ſhe had profeſſed to lay down, of prefer-'ing *none* of thoſe, who appeared againſt 'her Service and the Nation's Intereſt, *&c.* '——He wrote at the ſame Time to the 'ſame Effect to me, and I wrote to the 'Queen, and at length by much Solicita-'tion this Matter was obtained, and Doctor '*Potter* fixed in the Profeſſorſhip.'

Now, from certain grammatical Defects to be found in theſe Paſſages, one may venture to conclude they are your Grace's own Words; and if ſo, no ſtronger Evidence need be deſir'd, of the Supremacy of the Junto, and the Vaſſalage of their nominal Miſtreſs.

When the Whigs contended for a Secretary of State, it ſeem'd to be their only Suit, and that but a cautionary one, to ſecure them in a Share of the Adminiſtration: But that Point being carried, they ſhew their Teeth, unſheath their Talons, and growl for the Poſſeſſion of all.

The

The Queen, as Head of the Church, no ſooner preſumes to fill two vacant Biſhopricks, but they are betrayed forſooth; and her Majeſty muſt be reprimanded, for daring to make uſe of her Prerogative without a Permit from her Miniſters..... *But thro' the* FLATTERIES *and* INSINUATIONS *of her* PRIVATE COUNSELLORS, *it was grown irkſome to conſult with them.* You ſhould rather have ſaid, Madam, that thoſe Miniſters, by their Pride, their All-ſufficiency, and their eternal Negatives on whatever ſhe propos'd, had rendered themſelves a Grievance to her, which, notwithſtanding the ſplendid Outſide of their Services, it was impoſſible to endure, and almoſt as impoſſible to remove.

But, however ſenſible of this TERRIBLE Situation her Majeſty muſt needs be, ſhe is compell'd, in order to quiet the *Diſſatisfaction* of the Whigs, to promiſe ſhe will *offend* NO MORE: And is even *ſuffered*, as your Grace is obliged to own, by her *ſecret Counſellors*, to beſtow a Biſhoprick on a Friend of Lord *Sunderland*'s..... But all will not do; a new Demand is made; and tho' ſhe

ſhe only demurs, ſhe is reproached with the GLORY BESTOW'D on her by my Lord *Marlborough*; who, not content with having the Army for his Province, the Houſhold for his Lady's, the Treaſury for his Friend *Godolphin*'s, the Admiralty for his Brother's, and the Secretary's Office for his Son-in-Law's, writes a *moving* Letter to convince the Queen that her Piety was of no manner of uſe, that the Church ought to be left to abler Hands; and that the *only Way* to make her Reign *eaſy*, was to be true to the Rule of preferring NONE of them who appeared againſt her *Service*; a cant Word for *Miniſtry*.

Upon the whole, Madam, give me leave to repeat once more, that you impeach the Queen of the high Crime and Miſdemeanor of growing unmanageable, and endeavour to convince your Readers, that the Hardſhips thereby impos'd on her Miniſters were a Load too grievous to be borne; a Treſpaſs too great to be forgiven!..... Thus ſtands your Grace's Account,.... But, according to mine, *Griſſel* herſelf, if a Queen,

and

and perſecuted as her Majeſty was, would either not have ſtoop'd to ſo many Indignities, or would not have groan'd under them ſo long.

From the Intrigues of Parties, the Glitter of Courts, the Myſteries of the Cabinet, the Miſunderſtandings of Princes, and all the *Eclat* of the great World, which may be call'd the Eminencies of human Life, we are now to deſcend with your Grace to the Flats and Marſhes of Family-Affairs; to a low Tale of Couſins and their Couſins, brought to Court out of Charity; of *ragged Boys* cloath'd and put to School, and *good-for-nothing* Fellows preferr'd to Regiments: a Detail which may ſerve to gratify your Spleen, but can never contribute to your Fame!

That Mrs. *Abigal Hill*, your Grace's Kinſwoman, was the Daughter of a Merchant, undone by projecting; that her Mother had but 500 l. to her Fortune; that their Children were left deſtitute; that in the midſt of your own aſtoniſhing Elevation, you were ignorant ſuch Perſons were

in

in the World; that you had the wonderful Generosity to part with ten Guineas out of *your own Purse* for their immediate Relief; and that you afterwards quartered them upon the Queen and the Public, will scarcely be controverted: But that a Lady of your Greatness and Sublimity of Spirit should keep an Inventory of these *Bagatelles*; that you should think them of Consequence enough to lay before the Public, and couple them with the extraordinary Adventures which make up the Residue of your Story, will ever be Matter of Admiration, as long as that Story shall be read.

Acts of Goodness and Generosity deserve Applause, 'tis true; but when they take Air thro' Vanity or Ostentation, or become Matters of Insult and Upbraiding, they lose their very Essence, and consequently their Reward.

Thus your Grace has again mistaken the Road to Fame; and if we should conclude, as you would have us, that where you look'd for Friendship, you met with Ingratitude, we cannot help concluding likewise, that the

the Diſeaſe ran in the Blood, and conſequently, that it was, at leaſt, as excuſable in her, as in any other Branch of the Family.

But ſuppoſe, Madam, 'tis part of a great Lady's Privilege, to give Vent to her Paſſions in what way ſhe pleaſes; did not the Matters of Fact ſo liberally unboſomed by your Grace, afford ſufficient Food to your Reſentment? Or was there the leaſt Neceſſity to furniſh out a Deſert at the Expence of Mrs. *Hill, junior*, with the ugly but artful Inſinuation which follows?

'And it is very probable that Mrs. *Hill* has 'the Annuity *(beſtow'd upon her by the Queen 'at your Grace's Inſtance)* to this Day, and 'perhaps nothing elſe, unleſs ſhe *ſaved Money* 'after her Siſter had made her *Deputy* to 'the *Privy-Purſe*, which ſhe did, as ſoon 'as ſhe had ſupplanted me.'

It is not, without great Reluctance, that I can prevail with myſelf to follow your Grace

Grace thro' theſe dark and dirty By-ways, which ſurely were never viſited by a Perſon of your Eminence before: But as we have a Ray of Truth to direct us, and a ſmall Diſcovery to make; I find myſelf at once obliged to proceed, and to hold my Noſe till I have paſſed thorough.

It has been already urged, that Care had been taken to encloſe the Queen from the Acceſs of all obnoxious, or even ſuſpicious Perſons; and that, in order thereto, none were planted about her, but ſuch as were the Creatures of the *Marlborough*-Family.

Of this Number was Mrs. *Maſham*, and to anſwer this very Purpoſe was ſhe preferred; tho' the Affair is ſet forth in ſo different a Light by your Grace: It was impoſſible for you to be *always* upon Duty; it was neceſſary for the Queen to be *always* obſerved; Mrs. *Maſham* you had taken out of the DUST; and you was not, it ſeems, enough acquainted with yourſelf, to reflect or apprehend, that the Creature would ever preſume to rival its Maker.

It was not, therefore, the Effects of your Confidence in Mrs. *Maſham*, but the Preſumption of your own Strength and Importance that lulled you in Security ſo long: 'Tis true you tell us, that, when you had obſerved, ſhe grew more *ſhy* and *reſerved*, you imputed it to her *peculiar Moroſeneſs of Temper*: And that when ſhe had taken the Liberty to marry without your Advice or Conſent, you was willing to interpret it to be *Baſhfulneſs and want of Breeding* rather than any Thing worſe. I ſay, Madam, you here ſet yourſelf forth as incapable of Jealouſy, as void of all Apprehenſion. But as ſoon as the Alarm is taken, your Paſſions are all rous'd: And the very great Concern you immediately betray, ſufficiently proves how much depended on the grand Point of keeping the Queen entirely to yourſelf. But the whole Scene between your Grace and your new Rival, as well as the Paſſages connected with it, though low and groveling in themſelves, are too curious and artificial to be paſſed over without pointing at ſuch Particulars as ſerve to authorize this Concluſion.

'The firſt Thing, which led me into Enquiries about her Conduct, was, the being told (in the Summer of 1707,) that my Couſin *Hill* was privately married to Mr. *Maſham*. I went to her and aſked her if it were true. She owned it was, and begged my Pardon for having concealed it from me. As much Reaſon as I had to take ill this *Reſerve* in her Behaviour, I was willing to impute it to *Baſhfulneſs* and *Want of Breeding, rather than to any Thing worſe.* I embraced her with my uſual Tenderneſs, and very heartily wiſhed her Joy; and then turning the Diſcourſe, entered into her Concerns in as friendly a Manner as poſſible, contriving how to accommodate her with Lodgings, by removing her Siſter into ſome of my own. I then enquired of her *very kindly*, whether the Queen knew of her Marriage; and *very innocently* offered her my Service, if ſhe needed it, to make that Matter *eaſy*. She had by this Time learnt the Art of Diſſimulation pretty well, and anſwered with an Air of Unconcernedneſs, that the *Bed-Chamber-Women*

'had

'*had already acquainted the Queen with it*, 'hoping by this Anſwer to divert any farther 'Examination into the Matter. But I went 'PRESENTLY to the Queen and aſked her, '*why ſhe had not been ſo kind as to tell me of* '*my Couſin's Marriage*, EXPOSTULATING 'with her upon the Point, and putting her 'in Mind of what ſhe uſed often to ſay to 'me out of *Montaigne*, *That it was no* 'Breach of Promiſe of Secreſy to tell ſuch a 'Friend any Thing, becauſe it was no more 'than telling it to one's ſelf. All the An-'ſwer I could obtain from her Majeſty was 'this, *I have a hundred Times bid* Maſham 'tell it you, *and ſhe would not.*

'The Conduct both of the Queen and of 'Mrs. *Maſham*, convinced me that there 'was ſome *Myſtery* in the Affair, and there-'upon I ſet myſelf to enquire as *particular-'ly* as I could into it. And in leſs than a 'WEEK'S TIME, I diſcovered, *That my* 'Couſin was become an abſolute Favourite; 'that the Queen herſelf was preſent at her 'Marriage in Dr.* Arbuthnot's *Lodgings*, at 'which Time her Majeſty had called for a

'*round Sum* out of the Privy-Purſe; *that* '*Mrs.* Maſham *came often to the Queen,* '*when the Prince was aſleep, and was ge-* '*nerally two Hours every Day in private* '*with her*: And I likewiſe then diſcovered 'beyond all Diſpute Mr. HARLEY's *CORRESPONDENCE *and* INTEREST AT 'COURT BY MEANS OF THIS WOMAN.

'I was ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment at ſuch 'an Inſtance of INGRATITUDE, and ſhould 'not have *believed*, if there had been any 'Room left for *doubting*.

'My Lord *Marlborough* was at firſt no leſs 'incredulous than I, as appears by the fol-'lowing Paragraph of a Letter from him, in 'Anſwer to one from me on this Subject.

Meldeſt June 3, 1707.

'The wiſeſt Thing is to have to do with 'as few People as poſſible. If you are ſure 'that Mrs. *Maſham* ſpeaks of BUSINESS to 'the

* That Mr. *Harley* made uſe of the *Heifer* occaſionally, according the Phraſe of thoſe Times, is, I believe, ſcarce to be diſputed: But that he attain'd his Intereſt at Court by Mrs. *Maſham* only, is already diſprov'd, Pag. 217.

'the Queen, I ſhould think, you might with 'ſome Caution tell her of it, which would 'do good. For ſhe certainly muſt be grate-'ful and will mind what you ſay.'

Thus to Talk of *Buſineſs* to the Queen, to have an *Intimacy* with Mr. *Harley*, to ſhare in her Majeſty's Favour, and to have private Converſations with her, were *Crimes* of the firſt Magnitude in Mrs. *Maſham*, and ſo many Treſpaſſes on the PECULIAR of Madam the Dutcheſs of *M*------.

But not ſatisfied with having traced out the Matter of Fact, your Grace proceeds to inflame the Indictment, by giving us to underſtand that this heinous Intimacy was of long ſtanding, as follows.

'It became eaſy now to decypher many 'Particulars, which had hitherto remained 'myſterious; and my Reflection quickly 'brought to my Mind many Paſſages, which 'had ſeemed odd and unaccountable, but 'had left no Impreſſions of Suſpicion or Jea-'louſy. Particularly I remembered that a '*long while* before this, being with the 'Queen, (to whom I had gone *very pri-*

'*vately* by a *ſecret Paſſage*, from my Lodg-
'ings to the Bed-Chamber) on a ſudden
'*this Woman*, not knowing I was there,
'came in with the boldeſt and gaieſt Air
'poſſible, but, upon Sight of ME, ſtopped;
'and immediately, changing her Manner, and
'making a moſt *ſolemn* Courteſy, *Did your*
'*Majeſty ring?* And then went out again.
'This ſingular Behaviour needed no Inter-
'preter *now*, to make it underſtood.'

The grand Inference your Grace draws from all this is, THAT YOU WERE BETRAY'D. But thoſe of the World are rather ſuch as theſe, THAT THE QUEEN WAS A CAPTIVE, AND YOU HER GOALER: THAT SHE WAS NEITHER MISTRESS OF HER POWER, NOR FREE TO EXPRESS HER OWN INCLINATIONS. THAT SHE WAS SO FAR OVERAWED BY A LENGTH OF OPPRESSION, AS TO DREAD THE VERY APPROACH OF HER TORMENTRESS. THAT SHE WAS FORCED TO UNBOSOM HERSELF BY STEALTH; AND THAT SHE DURST NOT VENTURE UPON A CONTEST WITH YOUR GRACE, EVEN TO

SET

SET HERSELF FREE FROM YOUR INSUPPORTABLE TYRANNY.—A Situation ſo terrible, that no private Perſon would for any Conſideration ſubmit to it; and conſequently, what a Sovereign might juſtly endeavour, at almoſt any Rate, to be delivered from!

Were we then to compare the *Ingratitude* of Mrs. *Maſham* with that of another great Lady, to whoſe Advantage would the Balance turn? To whoſe Share would the greateſt Load of Reproach and Cenſure fall?

But your Grace will, perhaps, plead the Proverb, *That Compariſons are odious*, and we ſhall be obliged in Point of Courteſy to wave the Experiment. Upon the whole, though perhaps it might not ſo well become Mrs. *Maſham* as any Body elſe, to reſcue the Queen out of ſo miſerable a Vaſſalage, and though 'tis poſſible Mr. *Harley*'s Share in doing her this great and ſeaſonable good Office, might not be without a Mixture of Self-intereſt; yet with reſpect to her Majeſty, it was greatly meritorious; and a very little Caſuiſtry would ſerve to

prove, that where our Duty is firſt due, our firſt Services are due likewiſe.

I have, already, obſerv'd, Madam, that Mr. *Harley* is intended to be the ſecond Devil of your Drama; as likewiſe that your Temper is ſo extremely FRANK and OPEN, (your own Way of deſcribing it) that the Cuſtoms and Manners of the World, are no better than Cobwebs to your Grace.

Thus, in expatiating on the dreadful Shock you received in the Queen's Affections by the Means of Mrs. *Maſham*, according to your State of the Caſe, or in Conſequence of your own imperious and deciſive Manner, according to mine, you make no Scruple to violate private Correſpondences, (hitherto held ſacred) and to diſplay before the World Mr. HARLEY's *Complements* to your Lord on ſeveral of his Victories, as ſo many Proofs of an unlimited Attachment, which no Conſideration could juſtify him for breaking thro'.

If therefore Mr. *Harley*, in Compliance with the Times, has, in thoſe Letters, better ſupported the Character of a Politician than a Plain-

Plain-Dealer, we cannot paſs any Cenſure upon him, without accompanying it with ſome ungentle Thoughts of the Perſon who brought thoſe Letters to Light, ſo long after the Writer was no more.

While your Grace was thus ridiculouſly embroiled at home, the Buſineſs of the War was the Subject of your Lord's Attention abroad: The Succeſſes of the laſt Campaign had induced the Enemy to offer Peace by two Canals on ſuch advantagious Conditions to the Emperor, that it was not his Fault they were not accepted: But the Sun ſtill ſhining on our military Harveſt, it was thought proper by the reſt of the Confederates to make the moſt of ſo promiſing a Seaſon: In Conſequence of which the Imperial Court ſuffered the *French* to break thro' their ill-defended Lines, into the Empire, to paſs the *Rhine*, ſeiſe their Magazines, and lay the Circle of *Swabia* under Contribution.

Nor was this all: For when Lord *Peterborough*'s Deſign upon *Toulon*, before-mentioned, was to be put in Execution, they draughted off 12,000 Men from the Quo-

ta

ta to be imployed in that Service, in order to reduce *Naples*, and ſent ſuch Orders to Prince *Eugene not to expoſe the reſt*, as rendered the Deſign abortive, tho' nobly aſſiſted by a ſtrong Squadron of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Men of War, under the Command of Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, who was caſt away in his Return Home.

In *Spain* the fatal Battle of *Almanza* was fought, which decided the Fate of that Kingdom: And King *Charles*, who, the Year before, had twice driven his Rival back into *France*, and had the Crown within his Reach, was again reduced to the ſingle Province of *Catalonia*.

At Sea, tho' Sir *George Rook* was laid aſide, and the *French* were not able to ſet out a Fleet, nothing memorable was perform'd; but, on the contrary, our Merchants ſuffer'd more than ever, both in waiting for Convoys, and in venturing to ſail without, when they were either denied or delayed; both which were often the Caſe.

In *Flanders* the two Armies fac'd one another the whole Summer, and at laſt broke

up

up without performing any Thing worth Notice.

It is here neceſſary to make an Obſervation, which, in the Heat of your Reſentment, your Grace has omitted, *viz.* Though the Queen had no Diſlike to the Triumphs of a Thankſgiving-Day, ſhe ever thought it much too dearly purchaſed by the Lives of her Subjects; That, tho' a Sovereign, ſhe had a Heart which overflowed with Humanity; inſomuch, that the Liſts of the ſlain and wounded were ſeldom laid before her, but her Eyes ſwam with Tears, which neither the Joy of Victory, nor the Formality of Congratulation could reſtrain.

Hitherto every Year of the War had been diſtinguiſhed by ſome Succeſs; or adorn'd with ſome Triumph: But this, inſtead of being crown'd with Laurels, was hung with Sables: the Victory at *Almanza* had been as complete as that of *Blenheim*; and was attended with even greater Advantages: All the Infantry almoſt to a Man being cut off, and ſcarce the Shadow of an Army remaining.

If,

If, therefore, the Queen was melancholy in the Midſt of Triumphs, it muſt be imagin'd ſhe was now in a Manner diſconſolate; a Field of Blood was ever before her Eyes; the Groans of the Dying were ever in her Ears; the Devaſtations of a ruinous War hung an eternal Weight upon her Heart.

To whom, therefore, could ſhe unboſom this Variety of Sorrows? Not to your Grace: The War was now become your Friend, inſtead of the Queen, and had abſorb'd all the Zeal and Affection you had formerly devoted to her Majeſty: Whenever, therefore, ſhe touched upon that jarring String, you called it *Vapours*, put on a Brow of Diſguſt and Diſdain, talk'd of Victory, Triumph and Glory, and every Thing but the *Gains* they were attended with to the *Marlborough*-Family.

If to the Treaſurer, he behav'd with more Reſpect, but equal Inſenſibility; he inſinuated her Majeſty muſt be governed not by her Paſſions, but by the Advice of her Miniſters; — that they beſt knew the Equity of their own Conduct, and that, in the End,

all Things would contribute to the Liberty of *Europe*, the Good of her Subjects, and her own Repoſe.

If to the General: He beſought her Majeſty to have Patience but for *one Year* more, and ſhe would then certainly obtain her Deſire upon her Enemies.

Thus ſilenced, but not ſatisfied; her Majeſty was obliged to look elſewhere for that Comfort and Conſolation which ſhe could not obtain where ſhe principally expected it: And where could ſhe ſo reaſonably apply as to Mr. *Harley*, who had already given her ſuch Proofs of his Moderation, Ability and Attachment to her real Intereſt? and what Need was there for any *Practices*, as your Grace ſtiles them, on his Side, to compaſs what ſhe was ſo ready and deſirous to beſtow?

As her Majeſty had not actually leas'd herſelf out to the *Marlborough*-Family, ſhe had certainly a Right to place her Confidence in whom ſhe pleaſed: And no Man living, I believe, would have thought himſelf oblig'd

to

to prefer the good Graces of the Duke to thoſe of the Queen.

Well, but did he as yet avow his Defection? No; and he would have ill deſerv'd the Name of a Politician if he had: For nothing is more certain, than that all the Power of the Kingdom was then in the Hands of the miniſterial Junto; and we ſhall ſoon find, that even the Queen herſelf was no Match for ſuch almighty Opponents.

But, to return to your Grace; after making Uſe of one Paragraph of a Reply of Mr. *Harley*'s to a Letter of the Duke's, which you have not thought proper to inſert, your *Account* proceeds thus.

'The Conduct which Mr. *Harley* obſerv'd, 'after theſe Aſſurances, was ſo directly con'trary to them, and became quickly ſo no'torious, that my Lord *Godolphin* could not 'help *repreſenting* it to the Queen as of the '*utmoſt Prejudice* to her Affairs: And 'when he found that her Majeſty *would be*'*lieve nothing of it*, he went ſo far as to ſay, 'That if Mr. *Harley* continued to *act the* 'Part he did, and yet to have ſo much *Cre*-

'*dit*

'*dit* with her, as he perceived he had, Lord '*Marlborough* and himſelf muſt of NECES-'SITY QUIT HER SERVICE. The Queen 'appeared pretty much *alarmed* at this, and 'preſently wrote a Letter to me, in which 'were ſeveral Expreſſions of great Kindneſs.

'*Kenſington, Oct.* the 30th.

'If I have not anſwered all my dear Mrs. '*Freeman*'s Letters (as indeed I ſhould have 'done) I *beg* ſhe would not impute it to any 'Thing but the Apprehenſions I was in of 'ſaying, what might add to the ill Impreſ-'ſions ſhe has of me. For though I believe 'we are both of the ſame Opinion in the 'main, I have the *Misfortune* that I cannot 'agree *exactly* in *every Thing*, and therefore 'what I ſay is not thought *to have the leaſt* '*Colour of Reaſon in it*, which makes me 'really not care to enter into *Particulars*; 'but tho' I am unwilling to do it, it is im-'poſſible for me to help giving you ſome An-'ſwer to your laſt Letter, in which I find 'you think me inſenſible of every Thing. I 'am very ſorry, you, who have known me

'ſo

' ſo long, can give Way to ſuch a Thought,
' as that I do not think the parting with my
' Lord *Marlborough* and my Lord Treaſurer
' of much Conſequence, becauſe I did not
' mention any Thing of my Lord *Marlbo-*
' *rough*'s kind Letter concerning me. The
' Reaſon of that was, I really was in a great
' Hurry when I writ to you, and not having
' Time to write on that Subject to both, I
' thought it was the moſt neceſſary to endea-
' vour to let him ſee he had no Reaſon to
' have Suſpicion of any one's *having Power*
' *with me*, beſides himſelf and my Lord
' Treaſurer, and I hope they will believe me.
(What ſtrange Condeſcenſions ?)

' Can dear Mrs. *Freeman* think that I can
' be ſo ſtupid, as not to be ſenſible of the
' great Services that my Lord *Marlborough*
' and my Lord Treaſurer have done me, nor
' of the great Misfortune it would be, if they
' ſhould quit my Service? No, ſure, you can-
' not believe me to be ſo void of Senſe
' and Gratitude. I never did, nor never will
' give them any juſt Reaſon to forſake me;
' and they have too much Honour and too

' ſincere

'ſincere a Love for their Country to *leave* '*me* without a Cauſe. And I beg YOU 'would not add that to my other Misfortunes, 'of PUSHING them on to ſuch an unkind and 'unjuſtifiable Action. I think I had beſt 'ſay no more for Fear of being too TROUBLE-'SOM: But whatever *becomes of me*, I ſhall 'preſerve a moſt ſincere and tender Paſſion 'for my dear Mrs. *Freeman* to my laſt Mo-'ment.

'After my Return to *London*, I had ano-'ther kind Letter from her Majeſty in the 'following Terms.

Saturday Night.

'My dear Mrs. *Freeman*, I cannot go to 'Bed without renewing a Requeſt that I 'have often made, that you would baniſh 'all *unkind* and *unjuſt Thoughts* of your poor, 'unfortunate, faithful *Morley*, which I ſaw 'by the *Glimpſe* I had of you Yeſterday *you* '*were full of*. [*What a Face does this de-*'*ſcribe?*] Indeed I do not deſerve them, and 'if you could ſee my Heart, you would find 'it as ſincere, as tender, and paſſionately 'fond of you as ever, and *as truly ſenſible of*

 '*your*

'*your Kindneſs in telling me your Mind upon* '*all Occaſions.* Nothing ſhall ever alter me. 'Though we have the Misfortune to differ 'in *ſome Things*, I will ever be the ſame to 'my dear, dear Mrs. *Freeman*, who I do aſ- 'ſure once more, I am more tenderly and 'ſincerely her's than it is poſſible ever to ex- 'preſs.'

The *Conduct* of Mr. *Harley*'s, which is above repreſented as ſo obnoxious to thoſe two Dictators of the Queen's, is elſewhere explained by your Grace, under the Title of *Practices*, to be an Endeavour to render the Whigs jealous of Lord *Godolphin* and Lord *Marlborough*; and of inſinuating to the Tories, that it was wholly owing to thoſe two great Lords, that They were not ſtill poſſeſſed of ALL the Places and Employments. *Account*, p. 228.

To the firſt of which Particulars I ſhall beg Leave to reply, that the Whigs were *ever* jealous of thoſe Lords, as I have already prov'd, and as it appears even by the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Letter, *p.* 275, and therefore Mr. *Harley* was under no Neceſſity to give him-

himſelf any Trouble to do what was done to his Hand: Beſide Madam, it farther appears in your own Book, that he had no Credit with the Whigs, and it was for that very Reaſon, they inſiſted on Lord *Sunderland*'s Promotion, in order to have one of the Secretaries at leaſt in their Intereſt. And to the laſt, that Mr. *Harley* had made no Secret of his Opinion, that Tories and Whigs, not ALL of either, ought to be employed without Diſtinction: Conſequently every Body knew, that if the Queen did not take her Meaſures accordingly, it could be owing only to the Oppoſition of your Grace and your two Coadjutors.

But 'tis notorious theſe were not the *Practices* for which Mr. *Harley* was really ſo obnoxious: The Queen was no way anſwerable for his Behaviour to the two Factions, and of Courſe, was not juſtly liable to the formidable Threat denounced againſt her, of being deprived of thoſe mighty *Supporters* of her Arms, the Treaſurer and the General, on that Account.

There muſt, then, be ſome other *Practice* of his, which, however provoking,

your Grace has not thought proper to bring to light. And this material Defect, may, from the very Truth, be ſupplied as follows.

Mr. *Harley* had ſeen with infinite Concern, the almoſt incredible Power, which, thro' an Abuſe of her Majeſty's exceſſive Goodneſs, had devolved on the *Marlborough*-Family, and the arbitrary Uſe they made of it; not only the Treaſury, Army, Fleet, and all the Offices being under their Direction, and at their Diſpoſal, but even the Legiſlature likewiſe: That, on the Strength of theſe vaſt Acquiſitions, they look'd down upon the Queen herſelf, and terrify'd her into whatever Meaſures they pleas'd: That the Foundation of this accumulated Greatneſs reſted on the War; and that what was, alike, a Grievance both to the Sovereign and the Subject, made an annual Addition to this unnatural Excreſcence and Wen of Power, which threatened even the Conſtitution itſelf: That Ambition is boundleſs; that Dominion followed Power; and that a Woman, without Iſſue upon the Throne; a People rent into

into Factions; and a mercenary Army, at the Back of a General, victorious abroad, and omnipotent at home, conſpir'd to form ſuch a Criſis, as never had a Precedent in our Annals before; and which might be made a Baſis for Projects not to be thought of without Horror.

In ſuch an alarming Situation did the Proſpect of our Affairs appear to Mr. *Harley*, when the Queen firſt began to throw out ſuch Expreſſions as argued her to be uneaſy at the Continuance of the War, and diſguſted with the Treatment ſhe daily received from thoſe who had the Direction of it.

As a loyal Subject, therefore, as an upright Counſellor, a ſound Politician, and a firm Patriot, he thought himſelf not only obliged to lend an attentive Ear to the Queen's Complaints, but to make a Tender of his beſt Services, in order to remove them; as, likewiſe, to give her a Glimpſe of the Dangers which might ariſe from ſuch an Overbalance of Power in one Family, and the Neceſſity of ſome Expedient to make the Scales even.

And, as the firſt Step to this deſirable End, he thought it his Duty to lay before her Majeſty ſuch Propoſitions as had already been made by *France* towards a PEACE; the Reaſonableneſs of ſetting on foot a Negotiation at leaſt; and the little Probability of her being permitted to do ſo, as long as ſhe continued to be wholly at the Mercy of thoſe who, from ſelfiſh Views, were obſtinately bent to continue the War.

That theſe and ſuch like Diſcourſes made a very deep Impreſſion on the Queen's Mind, and that Lord *Godolphin* found more difficulty than uſual to work her to his Will, cannot be denied.

But if the *acting this Part* was a Crime, why was it not diſtinctly ſpecify'd? Why was it not brought to Account? And why was the Charge againſt him laid in ſuch general Terms, that, tho' repreſented as guilty, this, or ſome ſuch Eclairciſſement was neceſſary to point out the Nature of his Tranſgreſſion?

'Tis true, Madam, in one lofty Paſſage, (*p.* 238, 239) you charge him with *contriving how*

to RUIN *that* GLORIOUS MAN, *(the* General*) in order to raiſe himſelf upon his* RUINE. But how, or by what Means; or what we are to underſtand by this hideous Word *Ruin*, ſo elegantly repeated, is left wholly to conjecture.

Sore againſt the Grain, I muſt again leave the Cabinet, to comment on the Broils of the Bed-chamber; in which I ſhall concern myſelf as little as poſſible; becauſe, they appear no otherwiſe important to me, than as the Queen was unhappily involved in them, and as thoſe *unamicable Colliſions* ſerve now and then to ſtrike a Light on Objects that much better deſerve our Conſideration.

'I was every Day, ſays your Grace, in *Ex-*
'*pectation* of hearing from Mrs. *Maſham*, who
'I *ſuppoſed*, would now *endeavour* to *clear*
'up what had created ſo much *Uneaſineſs* be-
'tween us. But, to my *great Surprize*, I was
'TWELVE DAYS at *St. James's* (*your Grace*
'*is very exact*) under the ſame Roof with her,
'before I had *ſo much* as any Meſſage from
'her. At length having one Night paſt by her
'Window in my return Home, ſhe ſent one

' of her Maids to my Woman to ask *her*
' how I did, and to let me know that she
' was gone to *Kenſington*. This Behaviour
' was ſo very ridiculous, that the next Time
' I ſaw the Queen I could not forbear *ſpeak-*
' *ing* of it, and at the ſame Time telling her
' all that had paſt between us. The Queen
' looked grave and ſaid, *She was mightily in*
' *the* Right *not to come* near *me*. I anſwer-
' ed that I did not underſtand *that*, ſince
' ſhe had expreſſed ſuch a Concern at my
' *Diſpleaſure*, and ſince the *clearing* up of
' Matters had been reſerved to our Meeting.
' The Queen replied, that *it was* very na-
' tural *for her to be* afraid *to come to me*,
' *when ſhe ſaw I was* angry *with her*. [*With*
your Grace's Pardon, what more could be
ſaid of a Fury?] ' To this I anſwered,
' that *ſhe could have no Reaſon to be afraid,*
' *unleſs ſhe knew herſelf guilty of ſome Crime.*
' It was the Queen's uſual Way on any Oc-
' caſion, where ſhe was predetermined (and
' my Lord *Marlborough* has told me that it
' was her Father's) to repeat over and over
' ſome principal Words ſhe had reſolved to

uſe,

'uſe, and to ſtick firmly to them. She 'continued therefore to ſay, *it was very na-* 'tural, *and ſhe was very much in the* right. So 'that this Converſation with her Majeſty 'proſeſſed nothing but an *undeniable Proof*, 'that the new Favourite was deeply rooted 'in her Heart and Affections; and that it 'was thought more adviſeable to let the '*Breach* between me and Mrs. *Maſham* grow '*wider* and *wider*, than to uſe *any Method* 'to make it up.

How can this be reconciled with what follows?

'But now within two Days, Mrs. *Maſham* 'contrived to make me a Viſit when I was 'abroad. Upon obſerving this, and conſi- 'dering that our Meeting could be to no Pur- 'poſe but to draw fruitleſs and falſe Profeſſi- 'ons from her, I gave a general Order to my 'Servants to ſay, whenever ſhe ſhould call, 'that I was not at Home. After ſome 'Time, it was thought PROPER that ſhe 'ſhould WRITE to me, and DESIRE I

'would

'would SEE HER; to which I conſented, 'and appointed her a Time. When ſhe 'came, I began to tell her, *that it was very 'plain, the Queen was much* changed *towards 'me, and that I could not attribute this to* 'any thing *but* her SECRET MANAGE-'MENT; *that I knew ſhe had been very 'frequently with her Majeſty in private, 'and that the very Attempt to conceal this, 'by Artifice, from ſuch a Friend as I had 'been to her, was alone a very ill Sign, and 'enough to prove a very bad Purpoſe at Bot-'tom.* To this ſhe very gravely anſwered, 'That *ſhe was ſure the Queen, who* HAD *lov-'ed me extremely, would always be* VERY 'KIND *to me.* It was ſome Minutes before 'I could recover from the Surprize, with 'which ſo extraordinary an Anſwer ſtruck 'me. To ſee a Woman whom I HAD 'RAISED OUT OF THE DUST, put on ſuch 'a ſuperior Air, and to hear her aſſure me, 'by way of CONSOLATION, *that the Queen 'would be always* VERY KIND *to me!* At 'length I went on to REPROACH her with 'her INGRATITUDE, and her SECRET

MA-

'MANAGEMENT with the Queen to UN-
'DERMINE thoſe, who had ſo long, and
'with ſo much Honour ſerved her Majeſty.
'To this ſhe anſwered, *That ſhe never ſpoke*
'*to the Queen about* BUSINESS, *but that ſhe*
'*ſometimes gave her Petitions, which came*
'*to the Back-ſtairs, and with which ſhe*
'*knew I did not care to be troubled.* And
'with ſuch inſincere Anſwers ſhe thought
'to colour over the Matter; while I knew
'for certain, ſhe had, before this, obtained
'Penſions for ſeveral of her Friends, and
'had frequently paid to others, out of the
'Privy-Purſe, Sums of Money, which the
'Queen had ordered me to bring her; and
'that ſhe was, every Day, long with her
'Majeſty in private.'

How ſtrange it is, that a Lady of your Grace's Sagacity ſhould publiſh an Account by way of Juſtification of your Conduct, which, in ſuch a Variety of Particulars, concludes quite the contrary? That the Queen was changed towards you, you charge, point Blank, to the *ſecret Management* of Mrs. *Maſham*, as tho' her Majeſty had neither

Sen-

Sentiment nor even Senſation of her own; or, as if it was to be imagined that Mrs. *Maſham* would venture to attack ſuch an eſtabliſhed Favourite, if at all, till firſt authorized by the Queen's own Expreſſions; But even her having held private Converſations with her Majeſty, without BETRAYING them to the Lady-Paramount, was *alone* a very ill Sign &c. And to aſſure you, that, in regard to her former Affection, the Queen would always be *very kind* to you, only alarm'd your Pride, but contributed nothing towards convincing you, that no Deſigns had been formed to your Prejudice; and when ſhe denies that ſhe *ever ſpoke to the* Queen about BUSINESS, you call her Anſwers *inſincere*; tho' unable to prove them ſo: For the whole of the Indictment, as laid by yourſelf, amounts to no more than this, That ſhe had Credit enough with the Queen to obtain Penſions and Bounties for her Friends without the Mediation of your Grace; not the leaſt Mention being made of any one Circumſtance to demonſtrate that ſhe had endeavoured to *undermine the Miniſtry* in Concert

with

with Mr. *Harley*, which is the grand Point you have been labouring to eſtabliſh.

Indeed, that, afterwards, (when you declared an open Enmity to her, and made a Point of having her *removed*, as well as Mr. *Harley*) ſhe came into that Gentleman's Meaſures, and ſupported his Intereſt, in order to ſupport her own, will not be diſputed on one hand, nor can be juſtly blam'd on the other; eſpecially when 'tis conſidered, that your Grace carried your Reſentments to ſuch a length, as to turn her abruptly out of certain Lodgings at *Kenſington* Palace (another ugly Incident moſt diſcreetly not brought to *Account*) in a Manner which very ill agreed with the Profeſſions of Reſpect and Reſignation to the Pleaſure of your Royal Miſtreſs, which you ſo liberally expreſs in the Letter to her Majeſty, that took its Riſe from the following Interview.

'Not many Days after this, I went to 'pay my Reſpects to the Queen in the '*Chriſtmas Holidays*, and before I went in, 'I learnt from the Page that Mrs. *Maſham* 'was juſt then ſent for. The Moment I 'ſaw

'ſaw her Majeſty, I plainly perceived ſhe
'was very uneaſy. She *ſtood* all the while
'I was with her, and *looked as coldly* upon
'me, as if her Intention was, that I ſhould
'no longer doubt of my *Loſs* of her *Af-*
'*fections*. Upon obſerving what Recep-
'tion I had, I ſaid, *I was very ſorry I had*
'*happened to come ſo unſeaſonably*. I was
'making my Courteſy to go away, when
'the Queen, with a great deal of Diſorder
'in her Face, and without ſpeaking one
'Word, took me by the Hand: And, when
'thereupon I ſtooped to kiſs her's, ſhe
'took me up with a very cold Embrace
'and then, without one kind Word, let me
'go. So *ſtrange a Treatment* of me, after
'my long and faithful *Services*, and after
'ſuch repeated Aſſurances from her Ma-
'jeſty of an unalterable Affection, made me
'think that I ought in Juſtice to myſelf,
'as well as in Regard to my Miſtreſs's In-
'tereſt, to write to her in the plaineſt and
'ſincereſt Manner poſſible, and *expoſtulate*
'with her upon her Change to me and up-
'on the *new Counſels*, by which ſhe ſeemed

'to

'to be *wholly governed.* My Letter was in 'theſe Terms.

December the 27th. 1707.

'If Mrs. *Morley* will be ſo juſt as to re-'flect and examine impartially her laſt Re-'ception of Mrs. *Freeman*, how very diffe-'rent from what it has been formerly, 'when you were glad to ſee her come in, 'and ſorry when ſhe went away; certainly 'you can't wonder at her *Reproaches*, up-'on an Embrace that ſeemed to have no 'Satisfaction in it, but that of getting rid 'of her, in order to enjoy the Converſation 'of one, that has the good Fortune to 'pleaſe you much better, though I am ſure 'no Body did ever endeavour it with more 'Sincerity than Mrs. *Freeman* has done. 'And if I had conſidered only my Inte-'reſt and that of my Family, I might 'have born this Change without any Com-'plaint. For I believe Mrs. *Morley* would 'be ſincere in doing us any Good. But I 'have once been honoured with an open, 'kind Confidence and Truſt, and that

'made

'made *all my Service* agreeable; and it is 'not poſſible to loſe it without a *Mortifi-* 'cation too great to be paſſed with Silence, 'being ſure that I have never done any thing 'to forfeit it, having never betrayed nor 'abuſed that Confidence, by giving you a 'falſe Repreſentation of any Body. My 'Temper is naturally *plain* and *ſincere*, and 'Mrs. *Morley* did like it for many Years. 'It is not in the leaſt altered. But I can't 'help thinking thoſe Things reaſonable that 'appear to be ſo. And I appeal to God Al- 'mighty, that I never deſigned or purſued 'any Thing, but as I was thoroughly con- 'vinced it was for Mrs. *Morley*'s TRUE 'INTEREST AND HONOUR: And, I think, 'I may ſafely put it to that Trial, if any 'Thing has yet prov'd unſucceſsful, that 'was of any publick Conſequence, that 'Mrs. *Freeman* has been earneſt to per- 'ſuade Mrs. *Morley* to. And it is not poſ- 'ſible for me to diſſemble ſo as to appear 'what I am not.

'So much by Way of Apology for what 'happened upon *Wedneſday* laſt. And if

'Mrs.

'Mrs. *Morley* has any Remains of the Tenderneſs ſhe once profeſſed for her faithful '*Freeman*, I would beg ſhe might be treated one of theſe two Ways, either with 'the Openneſs and Confidence of a Friend, 'as ſhe was for twenty Years; (for to PRETEND Kindneſs without Truſt and Openneſs of Heart is a Treatment for CHILDREN, not Friends;) or elſe in that Manner, that is neceſſary for the Poſt ſhe is 'in, which unavoidably forces her to be often troubling Mrs. *Morley* upon the Account of others. And if ſhe pleaſes to 'chuſe which of theſe Ways, or any other 'ſhe likes to have Mrs. *Freeman* live in, 'ſhe promiſes to follow any Rule that is 'laid down that is poſſible, and is reſolved 'to her Life's End and upon all Occaſions 'to ſhew, that Mrs. *Morley* never had a 'more faithful Servant.'

'My Lord *Marlborough*, or my Lord '*Godolphin* (I have forgot which) carried 'my Letter. The Queen took no Notice 'of it to either of theſe Lords. But ſome

'Days after ſhe wrote me an *Anſwer*, [*which your Grace has not thought proper to publiſh*] 'in which ſhe very much *ſoftened* what had paſt. I was much pleaſed to find her Majeſty in that Diſpoſition; and once more put on as *eaſy* an Appearance as *I could*.

It has been often obſerved, that Politicians ſhould be without Paſſions; and that Friendſhip once in the Wane is never to be reſtored by Altercations: In Defiance of both which Rules, we here find your Grace, calling the Queen to an Account for her Looks, when you had loſt her Heart, and making her uneaſy with Expoſtulations and Reproaches, when it was manifeſt the Charm was broke, and nothing but the Magic of Complacency and Submiſſion could recover your loſt Dominion.

But your Grace's Politics were of a peculiar Kind: As you could not bear a Rival in your Power, ſo neither could you bear any Reſtraint on your Paſſions: And this Violence and Impetuoſity of Temper is what

I underſtand to be the Frankneſs and Openneſs you ſo frequently boaſt of. . . . But we muſt accompany your Grace a little farther.

'But in a very ſhort Time after this, the 'great Breach at Court became public. 'Lord *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin* had 'OFTEN told the Queen in the moſt *re-* 'ſpectful Manner, that it was *impoſſible* for 'them to do her *any Service*, while Mr. 'Harley was in her *Confidence*. Her Ma- 'jeſty nevertheleſs ſeemed *determined* not to 'part with him; till at length thoſe two 'Lords, being urged by *Neceſſity* to it, de- 'clared their RESOLUTION TO SERVE 'NO LONGER WITH HIM, and they *ab-* 'ſented themſelves from the Council. Mr. 'Harley would have proceeded to Buſineſs 'without them when the Council met, but 'the Duke of *Somerſet* ſaid, he did not ſee 'how it could be to any Purpoſe, when nei- 'ther the General nor the Treaſurer was pre- 'ſent; whereupon the Council immediate- 'ly broke up. This had ſuch an *Effect* up-

'on the QUEEN, that very ſoon after, Mr. 'Harley was * *diſmiſſed* from his Poſt.

'Such a COMPLIANCE with the Miniſ-'ters ſeemed to the Eyes of the WORLD 'a very GREAT CONCESSION, but was in 'Truth NOTHING. For it was evident 'by what followed, that this Appearance of 'giving up Mr. *Harley* was with his *own* 'Conſent, and by his *own Advice*, who, as 'long as Mrs. *Maſham* continued in Fa-'vour, would, under *Pretence* of viſiting 'her (who was his Couſin) have all the 'Opportunities he could wiſh for, of *prac-'tiſing* upon the Paſſions and Credulity of 'the Queen; and the *Method* of *correſpond-'ing* with him had been ſettled ſome Time 'before. I was fully apprized of all this; 'yet I reſolved to try, if by being *eaſy* and '*quiet* I could *regain* any INFLUENCE 'with her Majeſty. She had given me 'ſome Encouragement to hope it. For 'when, a little before Mr. *Harley*'s Diſ-

* When Mr. *Harley* was diſmiſſed; Sir *Simon Harcourt*, *Henry St. John*, Eſq, and Sir *Thomas Manſel* reſign'd their reſpective Employs.

miſſion,

'miſſion, Lord *Marlborough* reſolved to 'quit the Service, and when on that Occa-'ſion I had with *Tears* (which a *tender* 'Concern at the Thought of *parting* from 'her *Majeſty* made me ſhed) repreſented 'to her, that if the Duke retired, it would 'be improper and even impoſſible for me 'to ſtay at Court after him, ſhe declared '*that ſhe could not bear the Thought of my* 'leaving her, *and that it muſt never be.* 'And at that Time ſhe made me a Promiſe 'that if ever I ſhould leave her, *(which* ſhe 'again ſaid *muſt never be)* ſhe would beſtow 'my Offices among my Children.

Here again is a new Inſtance, that the Queen was neither Miſtreſs of her own Power, nor at liberty to make Choice of her own Friends: It was Mr. *Harley*'s Crime, his only Crime, as far as appears, to have deſerved her *Confidence*, by an Attachment to Truth only, in Defiance of the Junto, and their Omnipotence: He was, therefore, to be torn from her Side at all Events; and her Majeſty muſt not dare to protect him, for fear of diſobliging the *Marlborough*-Family.

Well, to appeaſe their Wrath, and bring them back to their Duty, he is diſmiſs'd: But ſtill this was NOTHING. . . It was done, it ſeems with his *own* Conſent, in compliment to his *own Advice*, not in blind Obedience to the Will of the ſaid *Marlborough* Family: And the Queen found a *Pretence* to be ſtill in the Way of thoſe *Practices*, which they had ſuch dreadful Apprehenſions of.

Thus, tho' Mr. *Harley* made himſelf a voluntary Sacrifice to the Peace of the Court, and her Majeſty condeſcended to ſee him not as a Miniſter but a Friend, the Jealouſy ſtill continued as ſtrong againſt him as ever; and it is even ſtated as a Crime, that ſhe ever ſaw him at all.

As to the Tears you are pleaſed to mention, I ſhall take as much notice of them as they ſeem to deſerve; we are told from the Stage, *That even Butchers weep.*

It is very remarkable, Madam, that, notwithſtanding all you are pleaſed to ſay of the *Practices* of Mr. *Harley*, you never once hint the Affair of Mr. *Greg*, one of the

Clerks in his Office, who was executed for a treaſonable Correſpondence with *France*: I ſay, Madam, your Silence upon this Head is very remarkable; ſince no Endeavours were, at *that Time*, wanting to perſuade her Majeſty, that the Secretary was, to the full, as guilty as his Clerk; and ſince Bp. *Burnet*, tho', in relating this Incident, he does not, in expreſs Terms, charge *Greg*'s Treaſon upon Mr. *Harley*, yet couples it with a ſecond Story of certain other Perſons employed and protected by that Gentleman, who were at the ſame Juncture taken up for giving Intelligence to the *French*; and leads, if not directs the Reader to make Concluſions to his Diſadvantage.

A Brief of *Greg*'s Affair in particular, as drawn from the noble Authority before quoted in the Caſe of the Lord *Peterborough*, is as follows.

He, Mr. *Harley*, had *himſelf* entertain'd a Suſpicion that one of the Clerks of his Office held a treaſonable Correſpondence with the Enemy, and in order to diſcover it, he writ to the Poſt-maſter on the other Side

to ſend him back a certain Packet of Letters, wherein he found a Letter of this Clerk's written to a Miniſter of State in *France*; he firſt acquainted her Majeſty *alone* with it, and then appointed a Committee of Council to meet at his Office, ſent for the Clerk, and then ſurpriz'd him at once by producing and reading the Letter before his Face; the Clerk was committed, arraign'd, pleaded guilty, and was executed for the Treaſon.

The Party us'd all their Endeavours, and had their Creatures, in public Converſation, to make the World believe, that the Secretary himſelf was privy to this traiterous Correſpondence: Seven Lords were deputed from that Houſe to examine the Clerk in Priſon, and 'tis remarkable, that they were all of *one Side*. Surely they that knew the Manner in which the Secretary ſurpriz'd him, muſt believe in their Conſciences, that no Man durſt treat a Perſon with ſuch a Severity, if he knew it to be in the Criminal's Power to accuſe his Accuſer.

But the Secretary's Innocence was amply vindicated, when the Clerk, *(Greg)* at his

Exe-

EXECUTION, delivered a * Paper to the Ordinary

* The Crime I am now juſtly to ſuffer for, having made a great Noiſe in the World, a Paper of more than ordinary Length will be expected from the Criminal; who therefore takes this laſt Opportunity, to profeſs his utter Abhorrence, and ſincere Repentance of all his Sins againſt God, and of all the heinous Crimes committed againſt the Queen, whoſe Forgiveneſs I moſt heartily implore, as I ſhall heartily pray for her Majeſty's long Life and happy Reign over her united People, and Succeſs againſt her Enemies, with my parting Breath.

This is all the Satisfaction I can poſſibly make injur'd Majeſty. I declare in the next Place, the Reparation I would make, were it in my Power, to thoſe of her Majeſty's Subjects I have wronged, in any Kind; and particularly the Right Honourable *Robert Harley*, Eſq; whoſe Pardon I heartily beg for baſely betraying my Truſt: Which Declaration, though of itſelf ſufficient to clear the ſaid Gentleman, yet for the Sake of thoſe, whom it was my Misfortune not to be able to ſatisfy in my Lifetime, I do ſacredly proteſt, that, as I ſhall *anſwer* it before the *Judgment-Seat of CHRIST*, the Gentleman aforeſaid was *not privy* to my writing to *France*, *directly* nor *indirectly*; neither I, his unworthy Clerk, anyways acceſſary to the Miſcarriage before *Thoulon*, nor the Loſſes by Sea, all which happened before the firſt of my Letters, which was writ the 24th of *October* 1707. As for my Creditors, as I am in no Condition to ſatisfy them, ſo I earneſtly beg they would forgive me; and I pray God to make up their Loſſes ſeven-fold.

For my Part, I do freely forgive all Men, and die in perfect Charity with them, not without humble Hopes of finding Forgiveneſs, through the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, with God; who in Mercy touched my Conſcience ſo powerfully from the Beginning, as to prevent my *proſtituting* the ſame to *ſave my Life*: For which Inſtance

Ordinary of *Newgate*, declaring, That his Maſter was wholly ignorant of this treaſonable Correſpondence, till he made the Diſcovery himſelf, and thank'd GOD that he gave

Inſtance of his Love, to be preferred before Life itſelf, I bleſs and magnify his holy Name with unſpeakable Joy and Comfort at my Death, nothing near ſo ignominious as would have been ſuch a Life.

After this Confeſſion, the Duty of a dying Man leads me to profeſs the Religion in which I was brought up, and do now die, which is the Proteſtant; the Scandal given thereunto by my enormous Practices, can't be better taken away, than by my publiſhing to the World, my hearty Sorrow for thoſe ſenſual Pleaſures which have proved my Bane: Therefore let all, who ſhall read this poor Paper, take Warning by me, to ſhun the like youthful Luſts; to which, whoever gives up himſelf, can't tell how far they may, when indulg'd, carry him, even to the committing ſuch Crimes as he thought himſelf incapable of ſome time a day; of which Truth, I, to my woeful Experience, am a melancholy Inſtance. But, at the ſame time, I appeal to the great God, before whom I am going to appear, that, notwithſtanding all the Pains taken to make me out an old Offender, by faſtening on me the Crime of counterfeiting the Coin, this is the firſt Fault that ever I ventured upon; which was not out of any Zeal for the Pretender, whom I not only diſown at my Death, but ſolemnly declare, that in all my Life, I never thought he had a Right to theſe Realms, how fooliſhly ſoever I may have rendered myſelf obnoxious in this Particular; but the only Motive of my mad Undertaking was MONEY (of which I never received any) on account of the Ship-Paſs, though I have met with the more juſt Reward of ſuch ſecret Services, intended by

William Gregg.

gave him the Grace not to do ſo *vile an Action* for the *ſaving his own Life*, as ſome would have *put* him *upon*: But the Ordinary was not *permitted* to publiſh this Paper, (as is uſual) and ſo it was ſuppreſs'd for a Time, till Care was taken to print it from a Copy that had been given to another Hand, and then *Paul Lorrain* got Leave to publiſh it alſo.

I have been the larger in this Narrative, that all well-meaning *Whigs* may be truly inform'd, that tho' themſelves and their Principles abhor ſuch Practices, yet there are great Men among their Leaders that ſtick at nothing that they think will ſerve their own Intereſts, and deſtroy thoſe they hate; and the ſame Men that could ſo lately both *accuſe* and *acquit* the *Faulty* in *one Breath*, (as will be explain'd farther on) were now as ready to attempt the Ruin of their Enemy by *Subornation*, and to *ſtifle* and *ſuppreſs* ſo *clear a Vindication* of his Innocence.

Nor is it leſs worthy the Notice of the *Whigs*, that this very Gentleman who has been rendered ſo odious in their Eſteem, if his Conduct

Conduct ſhall be impartially conſidered, it will be found that his Actions have ſhewn him much more a Patriot and a true *Whig*, than his Adverſaries.

'Twas their deſerting the true Intereſt of their Country, and running into and ſupporting all the Miſmanagements of the late Reign, that made him join with thoſe called *Tories* (tho' I am ſure they deſerv'd the good Opinion of all true *Engliſhmen* in thoſe Occaſions) to reſcue the Nation from the Rapine of that corrupt Miniſtry: And, as St. *Paul*, became *all* unto *all*, that he might gain *ſome*, if this Gentleman has employ'd the Dexterity of which he is ſo great a Maſter, to draw off the beſt Men of that Party from the Extreme which they had formerly fall'n into, and to win them into the true Intereſt of the Nation, his Voting with them, pleaſing them, and gaining their good Opinion in order to good Ends, are ſo far from Faults, that they deſerve the higheſt Applauſe, and both Parties ought to look upon him as the happy Inſtrument that is content to ſacrifice his own Eaſe, to paſs through

good

good Report and bad Report, and to labour constantly to destroy FACTION, and to reconcile the *honest Men of all sorts*, who really design the Good of their Country.

It is most certain, that very extraordinary Practices were tried upon *Gregg*, both by Hopes and Fears, with all of which the Queen was punctually inform'd; and they did not fail to create in her Majesty both Astonishment and Detestation, equal to the Baseness and Villainy of those who were at the Bottom of so infamous a Conspiracy.

I call it a Conspiracy, because it was not upon *Gregg* only that these Experiments were made; but on those other Persons mentioned by Bishop *Burnet*, who were taken up for betraying Secrets they were never trusted with; and who were indeed retained by Mr. *Harley*, in Virtue of his Office, as Spies upon the Enemy.

Nor ought it to be forgot, that the very Persons who tempted *Gregg* so many various Ways to involve Mr. *Harley* in his Guilt, and who consequently would have enforced his Evidence to the utmost, in Case it had

tally'd with their Deſigns, when defeated, immediately ſet themſelves to depretiate the Words of a dying Man, on the Inſtant of being out of the Reach of any Rewards or Puniſhments which Miniſters or Courts could inflict or beſtow.

Of which notorious Partiality, Madam, the Queen was often pleaſed to expreſs herſelf to this Effect.

It is extremely ſurprizing, that the Man ſhould not deſerve Credit, now he has acquitted Mr. Harley, *when his Evidence would have been built upon if he had accuſed him: And that he ſhould be thought to* DIE *with a Lye in his Mouth, when his Veracity would have been held unqueſtionable, if he had* LIV'D.

But, to put Mr. *Harley*'s Innocence, and the Malice of his Enemies out of all Doubt: It was owing to Mr. *Harley*'s Addreſs, that *Gregg* was prevailed upon to make the very Confeſſion which hang'd him: So that, having been the Inſtrument of his Condemnation, if *Gregg* could have accepted of Life upon ſuch vile Terms, he had a Provocation

that,

that, with many Men, would have been held ſufficient Cauſe for ſo doing.

But *Gregg*, tho' a Traitor, would not be a Murderer. What they were who endeavoured to make him ſo, muſt be left to the great Searcher of Hearts, before whom none can prevaricate, and from whoſe Sentence there lies no Appeal.

Gregg was executed, Mr. *Harley* was juſtified, and the *Cabal* was defeated: Notwithſtanding which their Tools were enjoin'd to go on to blacken him by all the Artifices imaginable; and many Writings from that Quarter are ſtill forthcoming, wherein he is aſperſed with being concerned with *Greg*, tho' not a Tittle ever appeared that could juſtify the leaſt Suſpicion.

We are now, Madam, to caſt an Eye on the Seſſion of Parliament which began *November* 6. and not with ſo favourable an Aſpect to the *Three Managers*, as they had Reaſon to expect. For tho' the Whigs had a Secretary after their own Hearts, they were as jealous, uneaſy, and importunate, as ever. The Houſe of Peers, at the Inſtance of the

Lords

Lords *Wharton* and *Somers*, put off the Addreſs till the State of the Nation had been examined into, which they ſet forth in their Speeches to be moſt miſerable. The Sheriffs of *London*, accompanied with above two hundred Merchants, preſented a Petition, complaining of their inſupportable Loſſes. The Debate on the Occaſion, which was pretty vehement, ended in an Expedient to receive Propoſals for the Revival of Trade; and when it was over, the Duke of *Marlborough*, after ſome warm Expoſtulations with Lord *Wharton*, thought fit to call him off, with a Promiſe of the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*.

The Houſe of Commons likewiſe, went upon the Miſcarriages in the Conduct of the Fleet: Of which Tranſaction the following is the moſt favourable Account that can be given.

The Houſe next thought fit to go upon the Buſineſs of Admiral *Whetſtone*'s convoying the *Ruſſia* Fleet laſt Summer, and his Cruize before *Dunkirk*: This, with other Matters, took up a pretty deal of their Time,

and

and brought the whole Concerns of the Navy under Conſideration. Some Miſcarriages, no doubt, there were, as well as Misfortunes; the Merchants were reſpectively examined touching their Complaints and Grievances, and the Prince's Council made their Replies and Vindication. Mr. *Heathcote*, Son of Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, and Mr. *Dawſon*, *Ruſſia*-Merchants, ſpoke very boldly, and ſtuck not to charge the Managers of the Navy with Fraud, Malice and Ignorance, which all bore hard on Admiral * *Churchill*. Several Members interrupting them, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Chairman of the Committee, deſired them to go on. *Whetſtone*, who commanded the *Ruſſia*-Convoy, and roſe to a Flag, from being Maſter of a ſmall *Briſtol* Ship, had a Character which ſeemed to be referred to by Mr. *Heathcote* and Mr. *Dawſon*, in their Complaint of Fraud, Malice, and Igno-

* 'Tis remarkable, that in the Year 1689, this Admiral, then but a Captain, was voted by the Houſe of Commons guilty of requiring and receiving Monies for Convoys; and being a Member, was committed to the *Tower* for the ſame, from whence he was diſcharged on acknowledging his Fault, &c.

rance. These Debates and Complaints ended in a Resolution, That for the better securing the Trade of this Kingdom, over and above the Ships of War for the Line of Battle, and the Convoys to remote Parts, a sufficient Number of Ships, afterwards settled at Four, be appointed to cruize in proper Stations.

The House, moreover, took the Affairs of *Spain* into their Consideration: And the extraordinary Proceedings thereon, I am enabled to give the following Summary of, by the great Hand twice before quoted.

The Mismanagement of our Affairs in *Spain* came to be enquir'd into in the House of Commons, and it was found, that tho' the Parliament had voted and provided for the maintaining of 28000 Men for the second Year's Operations in *Spain*, there were not actually 9000 of that Quota employ'd in that Country. This Business was brought on by the *Tory*-Party, who press'd hard, that the House should prepare an Address to the Queen, roundly to represent this fatal Miscarriage, and to pray her Majesty to lay before

fore them the Occaſion of it. The Court *Whigs* knew *then* no better but that 'twas their Buſineſs to ſtand by the Miniſters in *every Thing*, and therefore they labour'd to *mitigate* the Matter, and that the Addreſs might only be, to *pray* that due Care might be taken to prevent the *like Faults* for the *future*. They ſpeech'd it out till late, and ſtruggled hard to get the Debate adjourn'd for ſome further Time, which at laſt they carried but by nine Votes; (for it muſt be noted, that there have always been ſome of the true old *Whigs* that will not baulk their Principle to vote through thick and thin, like the Moderns in ſuch notorious Caſes:) But after all it appeared, that the *Mercenaries* had fought this Battel on the wrong Side for Want of their *Orders*; the *Whig* Junto, or Managers, wanted, at this Time, ſo fair an Opportunity to bite the Miniſters, and *force* them into a *Compliance* with what they had been long bargaining for, and therefore directed all their *Creatures*, by all means, to let the Addreſs paſs as *ſmart* as the *Tories*

would have it; ſo when this Debate came on again, the Warriours were grown as tame as Lambs, and the Addreſs went without any more than a little faint, ſhewiſh Oppoſition.

The Miniſters were frighten'd out of their Wits; here was a Gap opened that led into a Diſcovery of all the foul Play that had been acted in the *Spaniſh*-Affairs; they fly to the *Junto*; ſue to them for *Peace*; promiſe every thing, if they will but help them out of this *Plunge*. An Anſwer to the Addreſs is trimm'd up (in the Queen's Name) to palliate, as much as poſſible, but too narrow to hide the Miſcarriage from any one that was not willing to be blind to it, and the Nation is told plainly, that one *Third* of our Army has always been allowed for Officers Servants; (a fine Cheat for *Whigs* to countenance or acquieſce in.) However the *Junto* had gain'd their Point, and now the Party in the Houſe were to let this paſs for Satisfaction, and ſo the Miniſters were brought off from this Difficulty.

Thus

Thus the ſame Men who at firſt ſet themſelves, with all their Might, to *defend* the Miniſters in a Matter wherein the Nation had been notoriouſly abus'd, preſently, when they are bid, leap over the Stick *the other Way*, and *join* in a *Complaint* againſt the *ſame* Miniſters for the *ſame* Fault, and then, at the Word of Command, *leap back again* as you were; all's well done, No-body to be blam'd.

How mean an Opinion would the honeſt *Whigs* through the Nation have of the Men they put their Confidence in, if they ſaw how little Regard they had to the true Intereſts of their Country, and how eaſy they are to betray it to ſerve a Turn?

The ſame ductile Houſe of Commons, likewiſe diſpatched the Supplies, amounting almoſt to ſix Millions, as faſt as they were demanded; and join'd with the Lords to addreſs the Queen not to conſent to a Peace till *Spain* was reſtored to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; which, together with certain Addreſſes occaſioned by the Invaſion then impending

from *France* in Behalf of the Pretender, completed the Buſineſs of the Seſſion.

But, before we turn our Backs upon it entirely, it is neceſſary to take Notice of a home Paſſage in your Grace's Account, which reflects on the Queen's Sincerity, as follows:

'The Pretender's Attempt to land in *Scot-*
'*land*, which happened about this Time,
'gave her an Alarm, that ſeemed to bring
'a Conviction along with it, *that the Whigs*
'*were the moſt to be depended upon for the*
'SUPPORT *of her Government*; at leaſt
'what ſhe ſaid in her * Anſwer to the Lords
'Addreſs, upon the Occaſion, had this Ap-
'pearance. But as the Danger preſently
'blew over, and as her Fears ceaſed with
'the Cauſe of them, ſo all the Hope, which
'the Whigs had raiſed in themſelves from
'thoſe Fears, preſently vaniſhed.

* The Anſwer, or at leaſt that Part of it which is here referred to, was conceiv'd in the following Terms:

As I cannot but wiſh there was not the leaſt Occaſion of Diſtinction among my Subjects; ſo I muſt always place my Dependence on thoſe who have given ſuch repeated Proofs of the greateſt Warmth and Concern for the Support *of the Revolution, Security of my Perſon, and of the Proteſtant Succeſſion.*

I be-

I believe, Madam, after Mr. *Harley* was diſmiſſed, and Mr. *Boyle* † appointed Secretary in his Stead, no Perſon can conſider her Majeſty as any more than the Mouth, Hand, or Inſtrument of the Faction who had her in Poſſeſſion, and who obliged her to ſay and do what they pleaſed.

Conſequently the Anſwer, which is here referred to as an Indication of her Majeſty's being convinc'd that ſhe ought to depend upon the Whigs, muſt be look'd upon as containing the Sentiments of her *Dictators* only, not her own: And whoever recollects the noble Tranſactions of the laſt Seſſion, between the Miniſters and the Whig-Leaders, cannot avoid concluding with me, that this Declaration in favour of that Party, was either calculated by the firſt, to make them believe that their Intereſts would from henceforward be inſeparable, or was exacted by the laſt, in Acknowledgment of their very ſeaſonable and important Services.

† Afterwards Lord *Carlton*.

When, therefore, her Majeſty had a Minute's Liberty to breathe freely, and, in Conſequence, preſum'd to underſtand the Word SUPPORT to belong rather to her Miniſters than herſelf, let her not be reproached with retracting, when in Safety, what was ſaid for her when ſuppoſed to be in Danger.

This Summer was, abroad, diſtinguiſhed by the Victory obtain'd at *Oudenarde*, which, tho' both glorious and advantageous to the Allies, was not ſo deciſive as either that of *Blenheim* or *Ramellies*, the *French* making good their Retreat, and repelling all the Attempts that were made to put them into Confuſion.

The Siege of *Liſle*, one of the ſtrongeſt Places in the World, was next undertaken by the confederate Generals, in the Sight of an Army ſuperior to their own; which had poſted themſelves ſo advantageouſly, as to cut off all Communication between the Beſiegers and *Bruſſels*; whereby Ammunition of all Sorts began to fail; and the Conſequences might have been greatly calamitous,

tous, if General *Webb* had not, with incredible Conduct and Bravery, both covered the grand Convoy committed to his Charge, and with a Party of but 6000, defeated an Army of between 23, and 24,000, which had been detached to make ſure of a Supply which was of ſuch immediate Importance to the Confederates.

But the Merit of this gallant Action was by Mr. *Cardonnel*, the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Secretary, aſcribed ſolely to Lieutenant-General *Cadogan*, (his Grace's Favourite) who did not come up till it was entirely over, and the Enemy retreating in Diſorder; without the leaſt Mention of Mr. *Webb*, who thereupon quitted the Army in Diſguſt, and very frankly ſet forth the Injury which had been done him, both to the Queen and the whole Nation.

In this Interval the Elector of *Bavaria* inveſted *Bruſſels*, but was kept at Bay by the Governor and Garriſon, till the Confederates paſſed the *Scheld* to their Relief: Upon which he abandoned the Siege in Con-

fusion, leaving his Artillery and wounded Men behind him.

The Town of *Lisle* had already capitulated, and now the Citadel did the same. And the Reduction of *Ghent*, which had been before betrayed to the *French*, finished the Campaign on that Side.

In *Spain* the Duke of *Orleans* reduced *Tortosa*, *Denia* and *Alicant*: But to countervail these Advantages, Sir *John Leake* conquered *Sardinia*, and General *Stanhope* *Minorca*: And in the *West-Indies* Commodore *Wager* had an Engagement with the *Spanish* Galleons, in which the Admiral blew up, another Galleon was run ashore, and the Rear-Admiral was taken; being mounted with 54 Brass-Guns, and her Lading of an immense Value.

These were the Martial Feats of the Year 1708, of which, as many as were conducted by the Duke of *Marlborough*, your Grace has thought worthy to be mentioned: Tho' manifestly with no other View, than to render the Queen odious for daring to act independent

pendent of a Perſon, who, we are to underſtand, had conferred upon her ſo many, and ſuch never-to-be-enough-acknowledged Obligations.

Her Majeſty's Letter to the Duke on the Victory of *Oudenarde*, and his Grace's Reply, deſerve particular Notice.

The Queen to the Duke.

'*Windſor*, *July* the 6th, 1708.

'I want Words to expreſs the Joy I have 'that you are well, after your glorious Succeſs; for which, next to God Almighty, 'my Thanks are due to you. And indeed 'I can never ſay *enough* for all the great and 'faithful Services you have ever done me. 'But be ſo juſt as to believe, I am as truly 'ſenſible of them as a grateful Heart can be, 'and ſhall be ready to ſhow it upon all Occaſions. I hope you cannot doubt of my 'Eſteem and Friendſhip for you, nor think 'that becauſe I *differ* with you in *ſome*

'*Things*,

'*Things*, it is for want of either: No, I do 'aſſure you. If you were here, I am ſure 'you would not think me ſo much in the 'wrong in *ſome Things*, as I FEAR you do 'now. I am *afraid* my Letter ſhould come 'too late to *London*, and therefore *dare* ſay 'no more, but that I pray God Almighty 'to continue his Protection over you, and 'ſend you ſafe home again. And be aſſured 'I ſhall ever be ſincerely your

'HUMBLE SERVANT.

So perfect was her Majeſty now become in the Leſſon of *Acknowledgments*, and ſo humbled to the Yoke! Leave to *differ* from his Grace in *ſome Things* being all ſhe dar'd to aſpire to. And the SOVEREIGN being to all Intents and Purpoſes ſunk in the HUMBLE SERVANT!

The

The Duke to the Queen.

July 23. 1708.

'MADAM,

'I have the Honour of your Majeſty's 'Letter of the 6th, and am very thankful for 'all your Goodneſs to me. And I am ſure 'it will always be my Intention, as well as 'Duty to be ready to venture my Life for 'your Service.

'As I have formerly told your Majeſty 'that I am deſirous to ſerve you in the Ar-'my, but not as a Miniſter, I am every Day 'more and more confirmed in that Opinion. 'And I think myſelf obliged upon all Ac-'counts, on this Occaſion, to ſpeak my Mind '*freely* to you. The Circumſtances in this 'Battle, I think, ſhew the Hand of God; 'for we were obliged not only to march 'five Leagues that Morning, but to paſs a 'River before the Enemy, and to engage 'them before the whole Army was paſſed, 'which was a viſible Mark of the Favour 'of Heaven to you and your Arms.

'Your

'Your Majeſty ſhall be convinced *from* '*this Time*, that I have no *Ambition*, or 'any Thing to aſk for myſelf or Family. 'But I will end the few Years which I 'have to live in endeavouring to ſerve you, 'and to give God Almighty Thanks for 'his infinite Goodneſs to me. But as I 'have taken this Reſolution to myſelf, give 'me Leave to ſay, that I think you are 'obliged in *Conſcience*, and as a *good Chriſ-* 'tian, to forgive, and to have no more 'Reſentments to any particular *Perſon* or '*Party*, but to make uſe of *ſuch* as will 'carry on this *juſt War* with *Vigor*; which 'is the *only way* to preſerve our Religion 'and Liberties, and the CROWN ON YOUR 'HEAD. Which that you may long enjoy, 'and be a Bleſſing to your People, ſhall be 'the conſtant Wiſh and Prayer of him that 'is with the greateſt Truth and Duty,

'*Madam, &c.*'

Within *ſeventeen* Days his Grace finds Leiſure to honour her Majeſty with this DE-

VOUT-PIECE by way of anſwer: in which he paſſes over the Queen's extraordinary Condeſcenſions with all poſſible Expedition, and after expreſſing ſome Diſcontent, and as much Piety and Self-abaſement as would ſerve a primitive Biſhop; concludes with urging the old Point of the War, in ſuch Terms, as I believe were never uſed to a Monarch before. *To carry on the War is the only Way to preſerve the Crown on your Head.*

Why? who ſhould deprive her of it in caſe ſhe did not? Not the Tories. It was imputed to them as a Crime, that they deſired to ſee the Queen eſtabliſhed in Peace; and to ſerve her upon that Condition: not the Arms of *France*; for Peace would likewiſe put an end to all Apprehenſions from that Quarter. If therefore her Majeſty had any real Danger to fear, it muſt have been from ſome lurking Enemy unſuſpected and unknown: And if none, why was any ſuch Phantom raiſed to keep her in a State of Uneaſineſs and Terror?

We

We are now to return to your Grace.

'But now, what was very ſtrange, the 'Succeſſes of my Lord *Marlborough* this Year 'ſeemed rather to *lower* his Credit with her 'Majeſty, than to raiſe it; a Thing ſo ex-'tremely *out* of the common Courſe of *Na-'ture*, that no one, I think, can doubt of 'its being the pure Effect of *Art*, the Pro-'duct of that wonderful Talent Mr. *Harley* 'poſſeſſed, in the ſupreme Degree, of con-'founding the common Senſe of Mankind.

It muſt be allowed, Madam, that you are mighty ſmart on poor Mr. *Harley* in this Paſſage; and 'tis happy for your Readers that this wonderful Knack or Talent of his hath not deſcended to your Grace:

However, if none but my Lord *Marlborough* and his Dependents were the better for his Succeſſes, if his Power and Influence, both Abroad and at Home, grew more and more formidable thereby, and if thoſe Succeſſes were perpetually made matter of Inſult to her Majeſty, in my humble Opinion, nothing could be more natural, than for the Queen to look even with a jealous Eye on a

Bulk

Bulk of Greatneſs that almoſt edged her out of the Throne: And there was nothing of the Marvellous in Mr. *Harley*'s inducing her either to think or act in ſuch a Manner, as might enable her, according to the vulgar Phraſe, *to hold her own.*

'The Duke was perfectly ſenſible of the 'Change in her Majeſty towards him, and 'having complained of it in a Letter to me, 'I ſent this Letter to her, incloſed in the 'following one from myſelf.

'I cannot help ſending your Majeſty 'this Letter, to ſhew how exactly Lord '*Marlborough* agrees with me in my Opi-'nion, that he has now no Intereſt with 'you: Though when I ſaid ſo in the 'Church on * *Thurſday*, you were *pleaſed* 'to ſay it was *untrue*. And yet I think HE 'will be ſurprized to hear that when I had 'taken ſo MUCH PAINS to put your 'Jewels in a Way that I thought you 'would like, Mrs. *Maſham* could *make* 'you refuſe to wear them, in ſo *unkind* 'a Manner; becauſe that was a *Power* 'ſhe had not thought fit to exerciſe be-

* 9 *Aug.* 1708.

'fore. I will make no Reflections upon 'it; only that I muſt *needs* obſerve, that 'your Majeſty choſe a very *wrong Day* 'to *mortify* ME, when you were juſt going 'to return THANKS for a VICTORY ob-'tained by Lord MARLBOROUGH. . . . .

'In anſwer to this, her Majeſty was pleaſ-'ed to write to me theſe few Words.

Sunday.

'After the *Commands* you gave me on 'the Thankſgiving Day of not anſwering 'you, I ſhould not have troubled you 'with theſe Lines, but to return the Duke 'of *Marlborough*'s Letter ſafe into your 'Hands, and for the ſame Reaſon do not 'ſay any Thing to that, nor to yours which 'encloſed it'.

'Upon receiving ſo *extraordinary* a Letter, 'I could not avoid writing again as follows.

'I ſhould not *trouble* your Majeſty with 'any Anſwer to your laſt *ſhort* Letter, but 'to explain what YOU ſeem to miſtake in 'what I ſaid at Church. I deſired YOU 'not to anſwer me there, for fear of being 'overheard. And this YOU interpret as if I 'had deſired YOU not to anſwer me at all

'which

'which was far from my Intention. For 'the whole End of my writing to You ſo 'often, was to *get* your Anſwer to *ſeveral* 'Things in which WE *differed*, that if I 'was in the wrong, You might convince 'me of it, and I ſhould very readily have 'owned my Miſtakes. But ſince You have 'not been pleaſed to ſhow them to me, I 'flatter myſelf that I have ſaid ſeveral 'Things to You that are *unanſwerable*. And 'I hope ſome Time or other You will find 'Leiſure to reflect upon them, and will '*convince* Lord *Marlborough*, that he is '*miſtaken* in thinking that he has no *Cre-* 'dit with You, by *hearkening* ſometimes to 'his *Advice*; and then I hope You will 'never more be troubled with *diſagreeable* 'Letters from me: For I ſhould be much 'better pleaſed to ſay and do every Thing 'You like. But I ſhould think myſelf 'wanting in my Duty to You, if I ſaw You 'ſo much in the *Wrong*, as without Pre- 'judice or Paſſion, I *really think* You *are* 'in *ſeveral Particulars* I have mentioned, 'and did not *tell you of it*. And the 'rather, becauſe no Body elſe cares to ſpeak

'out upon ſo ungrateful a Subject. The 'Word *Command*, which You uſe at the 'Beginning of your Letter, is very unfitly 'ſuppoſed to come from me. For though 'I have always writ to You as a FRIEND, 'and lived with You as ſuch for ſo many 'Years with all the Truth and Honeſty, 'and Zeal for your Service that was poſ-'ſible, yet I ſhall never *forget* that I am 'your *Subject*, nor ceaſe to be a *faithful* '*one*.'

As my profeſſed Deſign is to reſcue the Queen out of your Grace's Hand, I cannot help expreſſing my Obligations to you for the Aſſiſtance I receive from the very Materials you have made public with a Deſign to leave her without Excuſe.

And, had I no other Proof or Evidence of the Affronts her Majeſty was continually expos'd to, than the unparallel'd Letter, above, relating to the Jewels, I ſhould need no other. In a few Lines, ſhe is there threaten'd with a Complaint to Lord *Marlborough*; *upbraided* with the Pains you had taken to pleaſe her; called *to Account* for preferring Mrs. *Maſham*'s Fancy to yours; and

and inſulted with my Lord *Marlborough*'s Triumphs, obtained in Virtue of his being honoured with the Command of her Majeſty's Troops, and for which he had received ſuch Rewards as no Subject had ever received before.

To be plain with your Grace: There is an Air of Outrage in this Letter that no Severity of Terms can ſufficiently expoſe, or correct: 'Tis impoſſible to read it without Indignation, or to ſpeak of it without a Bitterneſs, which, tho' familiar to your own Pen, would, perhaps, be thought inexcuſable from mine.

But neither is this all; becauſe her Majeſty will not follow you thro' the Thorns and Briars of Controverſy, but leaves you in Poſſeſſion of the laſt Word, you modeſtly conclude what you have advanced to be anſwerable; give her to underſtand that to be delivered from your diſagreeable Letters, ſhe muſt be governed by Lord *Marlborough*'s Advice: That you think it your Duty to tell her when ſhe is ſo much in the *Wrong*; and laſtly, That, tho' a Friend, you ſhould never forget you were her Subject, *&c.* which may be truly called a Word in Seaſon;

for, by the Changes rung upon the Words **You** and **I**, and **I** and **You**, I am ſubject to believe it was a Recollection your Grace had not made for many a Year before.

If, therefore, her Majeſty was thus treated while living, it is ſcarce to be wondered that the two following Paragraphs ſhould be added to blacken her Memory.

'Through the whole Summer after Mr. '*Harley*'s Diſmiſſion, the Queen continued 'to have *ſecret* Correſpondence with him. 'And that this might be the better managed, 'ſhe ſtaid all the ſultry Seaſon, even when 'the Prince was *panting for Breath*, in that 'ſmall Houſe, ſhe had formerly purchaſed 'at *Windſor*, which, though as *hot* as an 'Oven, was then ſaid to *be cool*, becauſe from 'the Park ſuch Perſons, as Mrs. *Maſham* had 'a Mind to bring to her Majeſty, could be 'let in *privately* by the Garden.

'And when upon the Death of the 'Prince, one would have thought that her 'Majeſty's real Grief would have made her 'avoid every Place and every Object that 'might ſenſibly revive the Remembrance of 'her Loſs, ſhe choſe for her Place of Re-

'tirement his *Cloſet*, and for ſome Weeks, 'ſpent many *Hours* in it every Day. I was 'amazed at this; and when I ſpoke to her 'of it, ſhe ſeemed ſurprized, juſt like a 'Perſon who on a ſudden becomes ſenſible 'of her having done ſomething ſhe would 'not have done, had ſhe duly conſidered. But 'the true Reaſon of her Majeſty's chuſing 'this Cloſet to ſit in, was, that the *Back-* 'Stairs belonging to it came from Mrs. '*Maſham*'s Lodgings, who by that Means 'could *ſecretly* bring to her whom ſhe 'pleaſed.

The Queen, it ſeems, ſaid the Houſe at *Windſor* was cool; your Grace affirms it was *hot* as an Oven; I will not inſiſt on any Compliment to her Majeſty on this Occaſion; your Grace ſhall have it your own Way: And what is the natural Conſequence? Surely, not that the Queen had no Tenderneſs or Concern for her dying Husband: You yourſelf are obliged to call her Grief *real*: But that ſhe was drove to ſuch terrible Diſtreſſes by her Dictators, that ſhe choſe to undergo any additional Extremities in the bare Hope or Proſpect of a Deliverance.

During these Transactions the late Whig-Parliament having sat its Time, underwent a Dissolution; and Writs were issued for the calling a new one.

I need not inform you, Madam, that a general Election is the Seed-time of Parties, and that as they sow, they reap. It is, however, necessary to insert a very remarkable Particular, omitted, upon this Occasion, by your Grace.

As the Whig-Junto, or Managers, on the Merit of their Services in the first Session of the last Parliament, had insisted on the carrying one Secretary of State, and the discarding another; so now, being still dissatisfied, they resolved to take Advantage of the Crisis, to enlarge their Scheme, by supplanting the SET, on whom they had as yet depended, in order to reign in their Stead.

On Occasion of the late Invasion from *France*, certain Persons of Quality and Interest in *Scotland*, to the Number of 22, had been taken up on Suspicion, and brought publicly, in a Sort of Triumph, to *London*: A Proceeding which had greatly irritated the Jacobite Party; and not without Cause, since nothing could be alledged against them. This

This ill Humour of their's tally'd exactly with the preſent Scheme of the Whigs; who flattered themſelves, that, by a Junction of Intereſts, they might be able to carry a Majority in the enſuing Parliament; and, thereby have the Miniſters at their Mercy. Accordingly the Affair was moved to the Jacobite-Leaders, who came into it with all their Hearts; and each Party depending upon the Strength of the other, took it for granted that the Coalition would be found irreſiſtable.

Having thus adjuſted the Plan of their mighty Scheme, they began forthwith to put it in Execution: The Jacobites ſet out to open the Campaign in *Scotland*, and their faithful Friends and Allies, the Whigs, at the ſame Inſtant, prepared to do the ſame in *England*.

It was now, your Grace muſt well remember, that the Preſs began firſt to groan with Invectives; broad, open Invectives againſt thoſe in Power: It was ſaid the Treaſurer, the General, and *one more*, engroſſed the whole Management of Affairs, inveſted the Queen, and rendered her Majeſty inacceſſible, except through their Means; made

Truth. The capital Incendiary was no other than the very Man, who the Whig-Junto had ſo warmly recommended, and whoſe Intereſt your Grace had ſo zealouſly eſpouſed, to be Secretary in ſtead of Sir *Charles Hedges*; I mean my Lord *Sunderland*, your Son-in-law; who, having obſerved that the Queen had been conſtrained to part with Mr. *Harley*, whether ſhe would or no, reſolved to improve upon the Hint, and oblige her to act in all Things as the new Confederacy pleaſed; which is undeniably prov'd from his Letter to the D. of *Roxburgh*, while the general Election was yet depending; in which are the following remarkable Expreſſions.

'I would not have you be bully'd by the 'Court-Party, for the QUEEN herſelf can-'not ſupport that FACTION long.'

A Proceeding of this extraordinary Nature, as it is eaſy to imagine, could not be concealed from the Queen: The Miniſtry ſaw very clearly, that to engage her to make it her own Quarrel, would be the moſt effectual Method to preſerve themſelves: But tho' her Majeſty gave into their Views, with as much Ardour as they themſelves could

wiſh,

wish, as thinking it a Matter of the last Consequence to convince the World that she was able to protect her Servants from the Intrigues of any Cabal whatever; she could not help bringing her Reflections home; she could not help perceiving, from this Incident, the whole Misery of her present Situation, and what a Lesson she had taught the rest of her Subjects, by placing a blind Confidence in one.

The Royal Influence, Authority and Resentment being thus thrown into the Scale of the Ministers, it became infinitely too weighty for that of their Opponents: The Elections in *England* were carried by a large Majority in their Favour; and in *Scotland*, tho' the Enemy had undertaken for two plumb Lists of Lords and Commons, they could return no more than Five of the first, and Eleven of the last.

The Whig-Junto now finding that they had reckoned without their Host, and that their Opposition was like to hurt no Body but themselves, more politicly than generously deserted their new Friends, without giving them any previous Notice, and struck

up

up a ſeparate Peace with their Adverſaries on very advantageous Terms to themſelves; Lord *Sunderland* being continued Secretary, Lord *Wharton* made Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and Lord *Somers* Lord Preſident of the Council.

Whence we may learn, that the Expedient of abandoning Allies, was not firſt practiſed at the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

But tho' the Fire was thus happily extinguiſhed, many dark and ugly Scenes had been diſcovered by the Light of it. As neither Party was innocent, Reproaches from one Side drew on Replies from the other; ſo that both, in the End, were ſo equally and entirely covered with Dirt, that it was difficult to know which was which.

Of all this the Queen was both a juſt and curious Obſerver; and it made no ſmall Impreſſions on her Mind, that ſhe found both Sides were to make a Property of her Authority; that ſhe was reduced to a *Neceſſity* of acting as ſhe was directed; and that which ever triumph'd, ſhe was ſure to be a Captive ſtill.

It was no wonder, therefore, that, from this

this Incident, ſhe ſhould become more convinced than ever of the Neceſſity of governing on Mr. *Harley*'s Scheme; not by any one Party, but the Wiſe and Honeſt of all.

To be told from time to time, as ſhe had been, *I cannot ſerve your Majeſty, unleſs ſuch a one be removed*, or *unleſs ſuch a one is gratified*: To have Councils broke up if but two Members were abſent, as if they had a Monopoly of all the Senſe, as well as all the Power of the Kingdom, were Affronts to her Authority ſhe could no longer put up with; and it was now ſhe reſolved in Earneſt to ſet herſelf free.

I ſhall make no other Remark at preſent, on this extraordinary Step of Lord *Sunderland*'s, than that it is one of thoſe Articles which your Grace has not thought proper to make an Entry of: And which Biſhop *Burnet* likewiſe, has ſlurred over, as what would do little Honour to the Managers of thoſe Times.

His Words are theſe:

'The Duke of *Queenſbury* was made third 'Secretary of State; he had no foreign Pro'vince aſſigned him, but *Scotland* was left

'to

to his Management. The Dukes of *Hamilton*, *Montrose* and *Roxburgh* had set themselves in Opposition to his Power; and had carried many Elections against him: The Lord *Somers* and *Sunderland* SUPPORTED THEM; but could not prevail with the Lord Treasurer to bring them into an equal Share of the Administration; this had *almost* occasion'd a *Quarrel*, for the Whigs, tho' they went on in Conjunction with the Lord Treasurer, yet continued still to be jealous of him.

What this most sagacious Prelate is pleased to call *almost a Breach* being made up, both Houses met for the Dispatch of Business *November* 16. Sir *Richard Onslow* was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons; and their principal Transactions were as follow.

They condol'd with the Queen on the Death of her Royal Consort; they congratulated her on the Success of her Arms; they decided controverted Elections with a Partiality shameless beyond Example; they sent a Compliment of Thanks to the Duke of *Marlborough* at *Brussels*; they address'd the

the Queen to think of a ſecond Marriage. They called for the Papers relating to *Greg*'s Affair, with no very favourable Eye to Mr. *Harley*, but could bring them to confeſs nothing. They enabled the *Bank* to open Subſcriptions for 2,201,071 *l.* towards the Supply. They addreſs'd the Queen to take care, that the Acknowledgment of her Title by *France*, the Removal of the Pretender out of the *French* Dominions, and the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, ſhould be made Articles of the Treaty, then upon the Tapis. They approved the Conduct of the Government at the Time of the late Invaſion; and they granted a Supply of SEVEN MILLIONS.

While the Commons were thus buſy in draining the Purſes of the People, the Court of *France* employed *M. de Torcy*, Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, to negotiate a Peace at the *Hague*: and the *States* refuſing to treat ſeparately, the Negotiation was ſoon extended to the whole Confederacy.

The Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Townſhend* were joint Plenipotentiaries in behalf of *Great Britain*; and Preliminaries, to the laſt

Degree mortifying on the Side of *France*, (ſuch as the reſtoring the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy to K. *Charles* within two Months, as likewiſe the *Netherlands*, except *Cambray* and St. *Omer*'s, ſeveral Places to the Empire, *Savoy* to the Duke, and *Newfoundland* to *England*, the demoliſhing of *Dunkirk*, the removing the Pretender; no Suſpenſion of Arms till the Article relating to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy was fulfilled, &c. &c.) were agreed upon. But, tho' the *French* King offer'd to ratify all but the laſt, which he refus'd, as depending on what was not in his Power, and tho' he offer'd to put certain other Towns into the Hands of the Allies as a Pledge of his Sincerity, as he would not ſwallow all, it was reſolved to break off the Treaty, and proceed with the War, under the old Pretence, That his moſt *Chriſtian Majeſty* was not to be truſted.

French Faith, Madam, I never was, nor can be an Advocate for: But when it appears to be grafted on their Intereſt, their Devotion to the one will exact due Reverence to the other. And that it was then particularly

their

their Intereſt to be honeſt, was evident not only from the State of *France*, at that Time deplorable beyond Expreſſion; but from the triumphant Circumſtances of the *Marlborough*-Family (which had moſt at Heart the Proſecution of the War) at this Period elevated to the very Pinacle of all human Greatneſs: Victors over their Enemies, with a Parliament juſt choſen, entirely at their Devotion, exerciſing an almoſt-deſpotic Power over their Sovereign, and enabled by ſuch immenſe Aids to carry their Conqueſts, one would think, almoſt to what Length they pleaſed.

It was apparently, therefore, the Intereſt of *France* at this Time, to treat fairly and perform punctually: and, for that Reaſon, there is Room to ſuſpect that the Treaty was broken off, not for fear the *French* ſhould violate their Faith, but for fear they ſhould not; as might be more clearly ſet forth, if Time would give Leave.

Be this as it may, the Land was not, as yet, to have Reſt: The Campaign was open'd on all Sides, and once more the Fate

of *Europe* was left to the Deciſion of the Sword.

But little was done on the *Rhine*, as uſual: the *Portugueze* ventured on an Engagement and were beaten. The Duke of *Savoy* gave the *French* no Diſturbance in *Dauphiny*, becauſe the Emperor refus'd to come up to the Price he had ſet upon his Services: and in *Spain*, when King *Philip* would have engaged Count *Staremberg*, the *French* General, *Beſons*, produced his Maſter's Orders to avoid a Battle.

Thus the grand Iſſue was ſtill left to be determin'd in *Flanders*, and the principal Strength of both Parties was ſtation'd to diſpute the Point accordingly,

While the *French* were expecting the Confederates to open the Campaign with the Siege of *Ypres*, they ſuddenly inveſted *Tournay*; and in the beginning of *September*, made themſelves Maſters of it. After which they undertook *Mons*; but were prevented from making any Progreſs in their Deſign, by the Arrival of the Marſhals *Villars* and *Boufflers*; who poſſeſs'd themſelves

ſelves of a Wood, and cover'd their Camp with Lines almoſt impenetrable, before a Reſolution was taken to diſlodge them. *Mons* was, however, thought worthy ſo deſperate an Attempt; and, to the Amazement of all military Critics, it was crown'd with Succeſs: If it may be called Succeſs, when the Victors are equal Sufferers with the Vanquiſhed, which was the Caſe at *Blaregnies*. The Enemy, however, retired to *Valenciennes*, and *Mons* ſurrender'd in *October*; with which Exploit ended the Campaign.

At Sea nothing was done, or thought of, tho' the *French* had left it free and open to whatever Enterprizes we pleaſed to undertake; but this was a Province which had been hitherto ſo ill managed, that Biſhop *Burnet* ſeems to think this a notable Year, becauſe our Convoys were well ordered, and our Merchants made no Complaints.

Thus *one Year of* GLORY *more* was brought to a Period; notwithſtanding which the *French* were ſtill in a Condition to make good their Frontier, and ſtand their Ground

againſt the whole Confederacy, without any viſible Inequality. So much at preſent for the Field.

'Tis time now to take up your Grace's Inventory of the *Queen's ſecret Sins*, in continuing to correſpond with Mr. *Harley*, by the Means of Mrs. *Maſham*, and by *the Way of the Back Stairs*; on which Occaſion it is your Pleaſure to proceed as follows.

'And that a Correſpondence was thus carried on with Mr. *Harley*, became every Day more and more manifeſt by the Difficulties and Objections which her Majeſty had *learnt* to raiſe againſt almoſt every Thing propoſed by her Miniſters. Nay, it is well known, that Mr. *Harley* and his Aſſociates, when at length they had compaſſed their Deſigns, and got into the Management of Affairs, did often (both in their Cups and out of them) boaſt that they, while the Queen's Miniſters were aſleep, were frequently at Court giving Advice in Secret, how to perplex them in all their Meaſures.

'But they were much miſtaken, if they 'imagined that their Proceedings, at the 'Time I am ſpeaking of, were ſo entirely 'covered. The Miniſters were fully con-'vinced of the Truth, and *frequently re-'preſented* to her Majeſty, what a *Diſ-'couragement* it was then to them in 'their Endeavours for her Service, to find 'that ſhe had no *Confidence* in them, but 'was *influenced* by the Counſel of others 'who counterwork'd them in every Inſtance. 'Upon this Subject, I myſelf wrote and 'ſpoke a great deal to her with my *uſual 'Plainneſs* and *Zeal*. But finding, not on-'ly that I could make no Impreſſion on her 'in this Reſpect, but that her Change to-'wards *me* in particular was every Day 'more and more *apparent*, I at length went 'to her, and beg'd to know what my Crime 'was, that had wrought in her ſo great 'an Alteration. This drew from the Queen 'a Letter, dated *October* 26. 1709. wherein 'ſhe charges me *with Inveteracy* (as her 'Word is) *againſt poor Maſham*, and *with 'having nothing ſo much at Heart, as the*

'*Ruin of my Couſin.* In ſpeaking of the 'Miſunderſtandings betwixt her Majeſty 'and me, ſhe ſays, they are *for nothing* 'as *ſhe knows of, but becauſe ſhe cannot* ſee 'with *my* Eyes, *and* hear *with my* Ears. 'And adds, *That it is impoſſible for me* 'to recover her *former Kindneſs, but that* 'ſhe *ſhall behave herſelf to me, as the Duke* 'of Marlborough's *Wife, and her Groom* 'of *the Stole.* This Declaration ſo plain 'and expreſs of her Majeſty's thorough 'Change towards me, was the more extra-'ordinary, as in this ſame Letter are theſe 'Words, *You have asked me once or twice* 'if *you had committed any Fau't that I was* 'ſo *changed, and I told you, no; becauſe I* 'do *not think it a Crime in any one not to* 'be *of my Mind,*

'Upon Receipt of this Letter, I imme-'diately ſet myſelf to draw up a *long Nar-'rative* of a Series of *faithful Services* for 'about 26 Years paſt; of the *great Senſe* 'the Queen formerly had of *my Services*; 'of the great Favour I had been honoured 'with on *Account* of THEM; of the Uſe

'I

'I had made of that Favour; and of my
'losing it now by the *Artifice* of my Ene-
'mies, and particularly of one, *whom I had*
'*raised out of the Dust*. And knowing
'how great a *Respect* her Majesty had for
'the Writings of certain eminent *Divines*,
'I added to my Narrative, the Directions
'by the Author of the *Whole Duty of Man*
'with Relation to *Friendship*; the Direc-
'ons in the *Common Prayer-Book* before the
'*Communion* with Regard to *Reconciliati-*
'*on*, together with the Rules laid down by
'Bishop *Taylor* on the *same Head*; and I
'concluded with giving my Word to her Ma-
'jesty, that if after reading these, she would
'please only to answer in two Words, that
'she was still in the same Opinion, as when
'she wrote that *harsh Letter*, which occa-
'sion'd her this Trouble, I would never
'more give her the least Trouble upon any
'Subject, but the Business of my Office, as
'long as I should have the Honour to con-
'tinue her Servant; assuring her, that how-
'ever she might be changed towards me, and
'how much soever we might still *differ* in

'Opinion, I ſhould ever remember that ſhe 'was my Miſtreſs, and my Queen, and 'ſhould always pay her the Reſpect due from 'a faithful Servant and dutiful Subject.

'I ſent from St. *Albans* this Narrative, 'which ſhe promiſed to read and anſwer. 'And ten Day after, writing to me upon 'another Occaſion, ſhe ſaid ſhe had not Lei'ſure yet to read all my Papers, but when 'ſhe had, ſhe would ſend me ſome Anſwer. 'But none ever came; nor had my Papers 'any apparent Effect on her Majeſty, ex'cept that, after my coming to Town, as ſhe 'was paſſing by me, in order to receive the 'Communion, ſhe looked with much good '*Nature* and very graciouſly *ſmiled* upon me. 'But the *Smile*, and *pleaſant Look*, I had '*Reaſon* afterwards to think were given to 'Biſhop *Taylor* and the *Common Prayer-Book*, 'and not to me.

If Lady *Wrongheaded* had undertaken to manage Courts and write Memoirs, could ſhe have writ or managed more in Character than a certain other Lady hath done? Not to be content with ſuch a Plenitude of Power; but to

take

take Umbrage at a Closet-Rival, without any Power at all; to make it a Point to force her Majesty even to *converse* with none but the *Marlborough*-Family, and to teaze her, without Intermission, on a Subject which must, of Necessity, make her uneasy as often as it was nam'd, was worthy the Head of the *Wrongheads*: But Passion and Policy are very rarely Companions; and, from the Time Mr. *Harley* became thus establish'd in the Queen's Confidence, one would think certain Persons had shook Hands with Common Sense for good and all. Infatuated they certainly were; or else such veteran Courtiers could not have fallen into such amazing Errors; could not have given their Rivals such *flagrant* Opportunities to render the Queen's Passions and Affections subservient to their own.

Indeed that Persons intoxicated with unlimited Power, and giddy with uninterrupted Success, should be impatient of Opposition; should think that Success entitled them to hold their Sovereign in Vassalage; and, in the first Hurry of their Resentments,

should

ſhould be prompted to urge their Claims accordingly; is both more natural and excuſable than for one of the ſame Perſons, at the Diſtance of above thirty Years, to repreſent her Royal Miſtreſs as guilty of high Crimes and Miſdemeanors againſt her Miniſters; and to reproach her for conſulting thoſe in ſecret, ſhe was not permitted to ſee publicly, in common with the reſt of her Subjects.

But I have enlarged more than enough on this Subject already: And to be deciſive in my Turn; it was beneath her Majeſty to ſubmit to ſuch Difficulties: and that ſhe did, argues either that the *Marlborough*-Family was already grown too mighty for her; or that her Spirit was more than half ſubdued to their Yoke. Had it been otherwiſe; had ſhe been *Queen indeed*, what Conſideration could or ought to hinder her from exerting not her royal Prerogative, but the Privilege of every Individual in a free Choice of her own Friends; eſpecially as the State was entirely in the Hands of thoſe, who alone were to be held qualified for ſo great a Truſt? Or what ſhould deter her from

from diſſolving a Friendſhip which was become ungrateful to her, without putting herſelf to the Trouble of a formal Eclairciſſement, due only to Equals; and conſequently not to be demanded on any Pretence whatever of the Queen of *Great-Britain*, by the —— of ——?

But this is not all: Tho' your Grace could ſneer at the Word *Church* in the Mouth of of Sir *Edward Seymour* and his Party, who made uſe of it as a Spell to draw down a Portion of royal Favour; you are not above making uſe of a like Artifice yourſelf, by preſſing the *Whole Duty of Man*, the *Common Prayer*, and Biſhop *Taylor*, as Auxiliaries into your Service; and endeavouring, by their Authority, to make the Queen believe, that, as a *Chriſtian* Duty, ſhe ought to take up her Croſs anew, and drag it contentedly on to her Life's End.

Nay; to carry on this pious Fraud to the utmoſt, you even took Care, Madam, to plant your ſelf in her Way when going to receive the Sacrament: To intimidate her from

from communicating, one may reasonably suppose, till first reconcil'd to you.

All these ingenious Devices, however, provid fruitless; her Affection was lost irrevocably: Nor could she be persuaded to think it an Article of Piety to dissemble what she did not feel: She could forgive, and, by the gracious Regard she then vouchsafed you, she signify'd as much: Christianity required no more.

Your Grace, indeed, has given it another Turn, by which you most charitably insinuate the good-natur'd Smile she gave you was religious Grimace only: With what Decorum, Justice, and Discretion, I leave to the Decision of your Peers.

About this Time, (*November* 13.) the Parliament met, and the House of Commons thought proper to complement the Duke of *Marlborough*, before they address'd her Majesty; but not willing to make their Court to the Ministers by halves, they resolved, shortly after, to impeach one *Sacheverel*, on account of a stupid, virulent Sermon he had preach'd, in which he had presum'd to make

make free with the Lord-Treaſurer, under the Character of *Vulpone*—An Affair trifling and inſignificant in itſelf; and ſet on foot by thoſe in Power, in order to ſtrike a Terror into all who ſhould, from thenceforward, dare to oppoſe them; but which, nevertheleſs, took a quite different Turn, and contributed not a little to their Downfall!

The Nation being thrown into ſo terrible a Ferment by it, that tho' the Doctor was declared guilty by a Majority of Seventeen, it was held expedient to let him go with ſo gentle a Cenſure, that he ſeemed rather to triumph over his Proſecutors, than they to have accompliſh'd their Ends on him.

This was the moſt remarkable Occurrence that happened during this Seſſion: And together with the Grant of another exorbitant Supply of almoſt 6,200,000 *l.* to carry on the War, is another fatal Proof, that, whether Whig or Tory, our Repreſentatives much oftner do their own Buſineſs, than that of their Conſtituents.

But how exceſſively complaiſant this Houſe of Commons, in particular, was to the Miniſters,

ſters, will appear yet further, as we proceed to wait upon your Grace; which we are now to do in the grand Trial of Skill between the *Marlborough* and *Maſham*-Families, which is thus ſet forth in the Account before us.

'In the Beginning of *January* 1710. the 'Earl of *Eſſex* died; and the Queen pre- 'ſently wrote to the Duke of *Marlborough* 'to give his Regiment to Mr. *Hill*, a Man 'who had been *baſely ungrateful* to me who 'raiſed him; and whoſe Siſter, Mrs. *Ma-* 'ſham, the Duke well knew was at this 'Time undermining the Intereſt of himſelf, 'his Family and Friends.

'Upon this Meſſage from the Queen, the 'Duke waited upon her, and with all Hu- 'mility repreſented to her, what a Prejudice 'it would be to her Service, to have ſo young 'an Officer prefer'd before ſo many others 'of higher Rank and longer Service. Be- 'ſides, that the ſhewing ſo extraordinary 'and particular Favour to Mrs. *Maſham*'s 'BROTHER, could be interpreted no other- 'wiſe than as a *declaring againſt* ALL thoſe 'who

'who had ſo *much Reaſon* to be *uneaſy* with 'her; and that indeed it would be ſetting up 'a Banner for all the *diſcontented* Perſons in 'the Army to repair to. In ſhort, the Duke 'ſaid every Thing he could think of, and 'with all the *moving Concern* that the Na-'ture of the Affair created in him, to engage 'her Majeſty to *change her Reſolution*. But 'all ſeemed to no Purpoſe. He could not 'draw one kind Expreſſion from her, nor 'obtain any Anſwer, but *that he would do 'well to adviſe with his Friends*.

'Lord *Godolphin* ſpoke often to her upon 'the ſame Subject, repreſenting to her the 'Duke's long, great, and *faithful Services*, 'and the very bad *Influence* which her intend-'ed Favour to Mr. *Hill* muſt neceſſarily have 'in the Army. But neither had this ſo 'much Effect as to engage her to ſay one fa-'vourable Word about the Duke. On the '15th of *January* therefore he left the Town 'and went to *Windſor* in *great Diſcontent*. 'It was Council-Day. The Queen did not 'aſk where he was, nor take the leaſt Notice 'of his Abſence. His withdrawing himſelf 'made a *great Noiſe* in the Town. Many of

'the Nobility ſpoke with *Earneſtneſs* to the 'Queen of the very *ill Conſequences* of *mor-* 'tifying a Man, who had done her ſo long 'and *important Services*. Her Majeſty an- 'ſwered, that his *Services* were ſtill freſh in 'her Memory, and that ſhe had as much 'Kindneſs for him as ever ſhe had. The '*Noiſe* however ſtill continued and increaſed, 'and there was *great Diſcourſe*, not without 'Probability, that ſome *Notice* would be 'taken of the Matter in the Houſe of Com- 'mons, and ſome *Votes* paſt *diſagreeable* to her 'MAJESTY and her new Counſellors. This 'Deſign was laid to my Charge, but I ſaid 'enough to the Queen to vindicate myſelf 'from it. And it was indeed owing to the 'Duke's *particular Friends* in the Houſe, 'that no ſuch Notice was taken.

'The new Counſellors being alarmed with 'Apprehenſions of what the Parliament 'might do, and believing that they ſhould 'be able at a proper Seaſon to make better 'Uſe of the Queen's *yielding* up the Point, 'than of her inſiſting upon it, gave her Ad- 'vice accordingly: So that, *January* the

'20th,

'20th, ſhe ordered Lord *Godolphin* to write 'to the Duke, *that he might diſpoſe of the* 'Regiment as he himſelf thought fit: And to 'deſire him to come to Town. But before 'this reached Lord *Marlborough*, he had 'written the following Letter to the Queen.

'MADAM,

'By what I hear from *London*, I find 'your Majeſty is pleaſed to think, that when 'I have reflected, I muſt be of Opinion, that 'you are in the right in giving Mr. *Hill* the 'Earl of *Eſſex*'s Regiment. I beg your 'Majeſty will be ſo juſt to me, as not to 'think I can be ſo unreaſonable, as to be '*mortified* to the Degree that I am, if it pro-'ceeded only from this one Thing; for I 'ſhall always be ready and glad to do every 'Thing that is agreeable to you, after I have 'repreſented what may be a Prejudice to your 'Service. But this is only one of a great 'many *Mortifications* that I have met with. 'And as I may not have many Opportuni-'ties of writing to you, let me beg of your 'Majeſty to reflect what your own People,

'and the reſt of the World muſt think,
'who have been Witneſſes of the Love, Zeal
'and Duty, with which I have ſerved you,
'when they ſhall ſee, that after ALL I have
'DONE, it has not been able to protect me
'againſt the Malice of a Bed-chamber Wo-
'man. Your Majeſty will allow me on this
'Occaſion to re-mind you of what I writ to
'you the laſt Campaign, of the certain
'Knowledge I had of Mrs. *Maſham*'s having
'aſſured Mr. *Harley*, that I ſhould receive
'ſuch conſtant *Mortifications*, as ſhould
'make it impoſſible for me to continue in
'your Service. God Almighty, and the
'whole World are my Witneſſes, with what
'Care and Pains I have ſerved you for more
'than twenty Years, and I was reſolved, if
'poſſible, to have ſtruggled with the Diffi-
'culties to the End of this War. But the
'many Inſtances I have had of your Majeſ-
'ty's great Change to me, has ſo broke my
'Spirits, that I muſt beg as the greateſt and
'laſt Favour, that you will approve of my
'retiring, ſo that I may employ the little
'Time I have to live, in making my juſt
'Acknowledgments to God for the Protec-
'tion

'tion he has been pleaſed to give me. And 'your Majeſty may be aſſured that my Zeal 'for you and my Country are ſo great, that 'in my Retirement I ſhall daily pray for your 'Proſperity, and that thoſe, who ſhall ſerve 'you as faithfully as I have done, may never 'feel the *hard Return* that I have met with.

'The Queen wrote him an Anſwer, ex-'preſſing ſome Concern at ſeveral Parts of his 'Letter, aſſuring him, without entring into 'Particulars, that he had no Ground for 'Suſpicions, and deſiring him to come to 'Town.

'But fearing at the ſame Time that ſome 'Motion might be made in Parliament a-'gainſt Mrs. *Maſham*, which might be at-'tended with very *diſagreeable* Conſequences, 'ſhe ſent about in *much Concern*, to many 'Perſons to *ſtand by her*, as if ſome *great* 'Attack were going to be made upon her. 'This Application and the Cloſetting ſome 'Perſons, who were known Enemies to the 'Revolution, gave Encouragement to the '*Jacobites*; ſeveral of whom were now ob-

'ſerved running to Court with Faces full of 'Buſineſs and Satisfaction, as if they were 'going to get the Government into their 'Hands. And this being repreſented to the 'Queen, as a kind of *Victory* gained by her 'over the *Marlborough*-Family, was doubt-'leſs one Means of hindering all Thoughts of 'a *real Accommodation.*

Before I proceed to animadvert on this long Quotation, I muſt beg Leave to put your Grace in Mind that, in the Catalogue of Benefits beſtowed by your exceſſive Goodneſs upon Mrs. *Hill*, and her Family, you are pleaſed to ſet a Regiment to the Account of the very Mr. *Hill* above-mentioned; which was then beſtowed without any Fear of giving Umbrage to the Senior or more deſerving Officers of the Army, or creating Murmurs againſt the General: So unexceptionable were your Grace's Commands underſtood to be, and ſo punctually were they obeyed!

To explain myſelf more fully; you, Madam, in virtue of your Relation to the Duke, might ſafely preſume to *create* Mr. *Hill* a Colonel; but it was a horrid Treſpaſs in the Queen

Queen to *remove* him from one Regiment to another: Tho' told, even by his Grace, he was a *good-for-nothing Fellow*, you prefer'd him; and tho' he had now the Merit of his Services to plead at the Battle of *Malplaquet*, the Siege of *Mons*, and elſewhere, her Majeſty could not do the ſame, without making herſelf a Thouſand Enemies; without deſtroying the Credit of the General, and ſetting up a Banner for all the Mutineers of the Army to repair to.

If the Queen ventured to make a Biſhop, or pauſed in the Nomination of a *Profeſſor*, it was a Wound given to the high Prerogative of her Miniſters; and if ſhe touched upon the Army, the Duke's Province was invaded: So that, except in Forms and Ceremonies, my Lady-Mayoreſs was as much conſidered in the State as ſhe.

Nay, it is moſt remarkable, that when the Diſpoſal of this ſingle Commiſſion was diſputed with her Majeſty, no Objection was made to the Courage or Conduct of Mr. *Hill*; nor was the leaſt Inſinuation dropt that he had ever misbehaved: It was enough

to ſay he had been *ungrateful* to the Ducheſs of *Marlborough*.

Alas! Madam, if Ingratitude had been a Diſqualifier, a far more conſiderable Command than Mr. *Hill*'s had never been beſtowed.

Your Grace has been pleaſed to drop, as from the Mouths of your Adverſaries, that the Queen was a Slave to the *Marlborough*-Family. And is not that ſhameful Fact ſufficiently proved by every Particular, ſet down in your own partial Story? As long as ſhe continues to obey Orders, ſhe is ſuffered to nod in quiet upon the Throne: But the Moment ſhe rouſes herſelf, prepares to exert the Sovereign, and inſiſt on having it recollected ſhe has a Will and Pleaſure of her own; the Alarm is taken, her Dictators frown, their Implements cabal, and all is running into Confuſion.

Thus, in the Caſe before us, the Duke having done his utmoſt to talk the Queen out of her Purpoſe to no Effect, he not only quits the Town in Diſguſt, but, to make his Retreat the more remarkable, chuſes to ſet out on a Council-Day: A *great Noiſe* enſues; the

the Queen is beſet with his *Creatures*, reproached with his *Services*, and even menaced with the *ill Conſequences* of MORTIFYING a Man of his *Importance*; nay, the very Houſe of Commons, (more it ſeems at the Beck of his Grace, than concern'd for the Authority of their Sovereign, and behaving rather like the Faction of one towering Subject than the Repreſentatives of the whole People) are on the Point of paſſing *diſagreeable* Votes; and the Queen is even obliged to the Duke's *particular Friends*, (a Cant-Word for *Tools*) that thoſe *diſagreeable Votes* did not actually take Place.

In a Word, the *Marlborough*-Family is again too mighty for her, and ſhe is again obliged to wave her Point, and make her Submiſſion.

But this was not enough: She muſt be puniſhed for her Temerity, in daring to wreſtle a Fall with ſuch unequal Enemies. The very *Bed-chamber-Woman*, as ſhe is ſtil'd by Way of Contempt in the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Letter, Mrs. *Maſham*, tho' a Servant of the Houſhold, not of the State, is held conſiderable

ſiderable and obnoxious enough to deſerve the Indignation of the Houſe of Commons; and a Deſign was actually form'd by Lord *Sunderland*, to procure an * Addreſs from thence, that ſhe might be remov'd from her Majeſty's Preſence; for having had the Inſolence to ſolicite her Brother's Preferment, and divers other horrid *Practices* againſt the *Marlborough-Family*: And her Majeſty's Uneaſineſs on Occaſion of this intended Inſult, as well as her ſeaſonable Enquiry if ſhe had any Friends left to ſupport her in the Exerciſe of a ſmall Pittance of her own royal Prerogative, againſt the Tyranny of an overbearing Faction, which, not content with giving the Law to the whole Kingdom, inſiſted likewiſe on ſubjugating the Throne, your Grace has ſneered at; as if an Addreſs of that unprecedented Nature, as if ſuch a glaring Proof of the General's Almighty Influence was a Matter of no Moment to the Queen; tho' the preferring Mr. *Hill* to Lord *Eſſex*'s Regiment, was to be held ſuch a

* It is affirm'd this Addreſs was actually drawn up.

Morti-

Mortification to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and ſuch an Obſtacle to the public Service.

Poſterity, however, will not be perſuaded to ſee theſe Tranſactions thro' the Medium of your Grace's Prejudices: On the Contrary they will conſider her Majeſty as in Turn moſt unhappily the Bubble and the Prey of thoſe who were indebted to her for Titles, Honours, Wealth, Power and Fame; as moſt effectually diſarmed of her Authority; as in danger of being diſtreſs'd into whatever Meaſures her Dictators took a Fancy to impoſe upon her; as reproach'd with Services perform'd, inſtead of being thank'd for Favours beſtow'd; and as meeting with the fierceſt Oppoſition, where ſhe might have juſtly expected the moſt perfect Obedience and Reſignation.

Of which melancholy Situation of her Majeſty's, what ſtronger Proofs need be given, than that ſhe ſhould be oblig'd to exert her whole remaining Intereſt to ſave one Woman-Servant from being torn from under her Roof, by the Houſe of Commons? and that even the gaining her Point

ſhould be look'd upon as matter of Triumph and Congratulation; as a Victory over the *Marlborough-Family?*

But tho' this thorough-pac'd Houſe of Commons had been at laſt induc'd by her Majeſty's Friends, to drop the Addreſs for removing Mrs. *Maſham*, they reſolv'd to loſe no Opportunity of magnifying their great *Leader:* Accordingly, the Negotiations for a Peace having been renewed, and the States having ſent Paſſes for the *French* Plenipotentiaries, they came to a Reſolution to addreſs the Queen, that ſhe would be pleaſed to ſend the Duke of *Marlborough* forthwith to *Holland:* They likewiſe invited the Houſe of Peers to join in the ſaid Addreſs, (which their Lordſhips were prevail'd upon to do,) and laid hold on this Occaſion to over-awe her Majeſty with the following pompous Paragraphs, ſetting forth his Grace's Merits, Services, Importance, *&c.*

'We cannot but take this Opportunity 'to expreſs our Senſe of the great and un-'paralleled Services of the Duke of *Marl-'borough*, and with all imaginable Duty to

'applaud your Majesty's great Wisdom, in 'having honour'd the same Person with 'the great Characters of General and Plenipotentiary, who, in our humble Opinion, 'is most capable of discharging two such important Trusts.

'We therefore make it our humble Request to your Majesty, that you would 'be pleased to order the Duke of *Marlborough*'s immediate Departure for *Holland*, 'where his Presence will be equally necessary, to assist at the Negociations of 'Peace, and to hasten the Preparations for 'an early Campaign, which will most 'effectually disappoint the Artifices of our 'Enemies, and procure a safe and honourable PEACE for your Majesty and your 'Allies.

Accordingly in *February* the Duke set out for *Holland*; but tho' the Conferences at *Gertruydenbergh* began in *March*, and the Campaign was not opened till *April*, his Grace never assisted in Person. All was artfully left to the Management of the *States*; and tho' we were made Principals in carrying

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ing on the War, nay, had the *labouring Oar* put upon us by the whole Confederacy, as was more than once confeſs'd by Lord *Godolphin* himſelf, we were now content to act, or rather to look on, as no way concerned in the Concluſion of it.

The *French*, however, were become ſo ſick of their ambitious Projects, and ſo humbled with their repeated ill Succeſſes, that they readily made all the Conceſſions which were either reaſonable or neceſſary. They gave up *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, the Point we principally contended for, to King *Charles*; and reſerv'd only *Sicily* for King *Philip*. They moreover offered an annual Subſidy to the Allies, till the *Spaniards* ſhould be forc'd to come into this Partition; and only inſiſted that when the Treaty came on, no other Demands ſhould be made upon them, than were contained in the Preliminaries: But the *Dutch*, now in the Meridian of their Greatneſs, were pleas'd both to put a Negative on the laſt Propoſal, and to refuſe the annual Subſidy: upon which the Negociations were

again

again broke off; the Court of *France* ſent a ſort of Manifeſto to the Great Penſioner, in which they threw all the Blame of the Rupture upon the *Dutch*; and the Loſs of this grand Opportunity, (as now univerſally acknowledg'd) was as great a Blunder in Politics, as the worſt that has ſince been father'd on the Treaty of *Utrecht* itſelf.

We muſt now return back to St. *James's*, where we find your Grace buſy in making your laſt Efforts to recover your loſt Dominion; tho' certainly by the moſt impolitic Steps that ever were purſued.

The Queen, it was apparent, Madam, had not only loſt all Reliſh for your Converſation, but even thought of it with Diſguſt and Loathing: Violent Affections are generally followed by Antipathies as violent: It was natural therefore, that ſhe ſhould avoid the Converſation ſhe no longer delighted in; and ſtudiouſly endeavour to preſerve the Repoſe ſhe had with ſuch Difficulty attain'd.

Your Grace, 'tis true, has repreſented it as a great Hardſhip, that you ſhould be refuſed

fused a private Audience, which you had so urgently solicited; and affect to consider the Difficulties thrown in your Way as so many Injuries: But lately the Queen, on the other Hand, had a Right to defend herself from such Importunities, to decline a troublesome Scene, and to prescribe the Manner in which she thought proper to admit of the Justification you so vehemently insisted on.

Your Grace could write as well as speak; and the Queen was more dispos'd to indulge the Licence of your Pen than your Tongue.

But you would be heard, Madam ——— And now the Curtain draws, and enter the quondam Favourite, soliciting a *Page* to procure her an Audience.

'Upon the sixth of *April* I followed this 'Letter to *Kensington*, and by that Means 'prevented the Queen's writing again to 'me, as she was preparing to do. The 'Page who went in to acquaint the Queen 'that I was come to wait upon her, staid lon-'ger than usual; long enough, it is to be sup-'pos'd, to give Time to deliberate whether the

'*Favour*

'*Favour* of *Admiſſion* ſhould be *granted*, and
'to ſettle the Meaſures of Behaviour if I
'were admitted. But at laſt he came out,
'and told me *I might* go in. As I was en-
'tring the Queen ſaid, ſhe was going to
'write to me. And, when I began to ſpeak,
'ſhe interrupted me four or five Times with
'theſe repeated Words, *Whatever you have*
'*to ſay, you may put it in writing.* I ſaid,
'her Majeſty never did ſo *harſh* a *Thing* to
'any, as to refuſe to hear *them* ſpeak, and
'aſſured her, that I was not going to trou-
'ble her upon the Subject which I knew to
'be ſo *ungrateful* to her, but that I could
'not poſſibly reſt, till I had cleared myſelf
'from ſome particular Calumnies with
'which I had been loaded. I then went on
'to ſpeak (tho' the Queen turned away her
'Face from me) and to repreſent my *hard*
'*Caſe*; that there were thoſe about her
'Majeſty, who had made her believe that
'I had ſaid Things of her, which I was no
'more capable of ſaying than of killing my
'own Children; that I ſeldom named her
'Majeſty in Company, and never without
'Reſpect, and the like. The Queen ſaid,

without doubt there were many Lies told.
I then begged, in order to make this Trou-
ble the ſhorter, and my own Innocence
the plainer, that I might know the Parti-
culars of which I had been accuſed. Be-
cauſe, if I were guilty, that would quick-
ly appear; and if I were innocent, this
Method only would clear me. The Queen
replied, that *ſhe would give me no Anſwer*,
laying hold on a Word in my Letter, that
what I had to ſay in my own Vindication
would have no Conſequence in obliging her
Majeſty to anſwer, &c. which ſurely did
not at all imply, that I did not deſire
to know the particular Things laid to
my Charge, without which it was im-
poſſible for me to clear myſelf. This I
aſſured her Majeſty was all I deſired, and
that *I did not aſk the Names of the Au-*
thors or Relators of thoſe Calumnies, ſay-
ing all that I could think reaſonable, to
enforce my juſt Requeſt. But the Queen
repeated again and again the Words ſhe
had uſed, without ever receding. And
it is probable that this Converſation had
never been conſented to, but that her Ma-
jeſty

' jeſty had been carefully provided with theſe
' Words, as a *Shield* to defend her againſt
' every *Reaſon* I could offer. I proteſted to
' her Majeſty, that I had no Deſign, in giv-
' ing her this Trouble, to ſolicit the Return
' of her Favour, but that my ſole View was to
' clear myſelf; which was too juſt a Deſign
' to be wholly diſappointed by her Majeſty.
' Upon this, the Queen offered to go out
' of the Room, I following her, and beg-
' ging Leave to clear myſelf; and the Queen
' repeating over and over again, *you deſired*
' *no Anſwer, and ſhall have none.* When
' ſhe came to the Door, I fell into great Diſ-
' order: Streams of Tears flow'd down a-
' gainſt my Will, and prevented my ſpeak-
' ing for ſome Time. At length I reco-
' vered myſelf, and appealed to the Queen,
' in the Vehemence of my Concern, whe-
' ther I might not ſtill have been happy in
' her Majeſty's Favour, if I could have con-
' tradicted or diſſembled my real Opinion
' of Men, or Things? Whether I had e-
' ver, during our long Friendſhip, told her

' one Lie, or play'd the Hypocrite once?
' Whether I had offended in any Thing,
' unleſs in a very *zealous preſſing* upon her,
' that which I thought neceſſary for her *Ser-*
' *vice* and *Security*? I then ſaid I was in-
' form'd by a very reaſonable and credible
' Perſon about the Court, that Things were
' laid to my Charge, of which I was whol-
' ly uncapable; that this Perſon knew that
' ſuch Stories were perpetually told to her
' Majeſty to incenſe her, and had begg'd of
' me to come and vindicate myſelf; that
' the ſame Perſon had thought me of
' late guilty of ſome Omiſſions towards her
' Majeſty, being entirely ignorant how un-
' eaſy to her my frequent Attendance muſt
' be, after what had happened between us.
' I explained ſome Things which I had heard
' her Majeſty had taken amiſs of me, and
' then with a freſh Flood of Tears, and a
' Concern ſufficient to move *Compaſſion* e-
' ven where all *Love* was abſent, I begg'd
' to know what other Particulars ſhe had
' heard of me, that I might not be denied
' all Power of juſtifying myſelf. But ſtill

' the

'the only Return was, *You desired no An-*
'*swer, and you shall have none.* I then beg-
'ged to know if her Majesty would tell
'me some other Time? —*You desired no*
'*Answer, and you shall have none.* I then
'appealed to her Majesty again, if she did
'not herself know that I had often despised
'Interest in Comparison of *serving* her faith-
'fully and doing right? And whether she did
'not know me to be of a Temper uncapa-
'ple of disowning any Thing which I knew
'to be true? ——*You desir'd no Answer,*
'*and you shall have none.* This Usage was
'so *severe*, and these Words, so often repeat-
'ed, were so SHOCKING (being an utter
'Denial of COMMON JUSTICE to one who
'had been a most faithful Servant, and
'now asked nothing more) that I could not
'conquer myself, but said the most disre-
'spectful Thing I ever spoke to the Queen
'in my Life, and yet, what such an Occa-
'sion and such Circumstances might well ex-
'cuse, if not justify. And that was, *I was con-*
'*fident her Majesty would* SUFFER *for such*
'*an Instance of* INHUMANITY. The Queen

'anſwer'd, *That will be to myſelf.* Thus 'ended this remarkable Converſation, the 'laſt I had with her Majeſty. I ſhall 'make no Comment upon it. The Queen 'always *meant well*, how much ſoever ſhe 'might be blinded or miſguided.'

You have here, Madam, charged your Royal Miſtreſs, to whoſe Memory you was, ſome time ſince, at the Expence of erecting a Statue, with behaving in a *ſhocking Manner*, with a Denial of *Common Juſtice*, with the Guilt of *Inhumanity*: The Queen has been in her Grave almoſt theſe ſeven and twenty Years: The Nature of this Dialogue admitted of no Witneſſes; we muſt depend on your own Report; and yet I am ſanguine enough to believe that in the End, her Majeſty's Innocence will triumph over the Malice of the * * * of * * *.

That your Grace could ill bear to be diſpoſſeſs'd of your Empire by one of your own Vaſſals, I can very readily ſuppoſe; that you ſhould leave no Expedient unattempted to recover it, I do not in the leaſt wonder; but that you ſhould inſiſt upon it as a Matter

of

of Right, that the Queen ſhould deſcend to enter into a Series of perſonal Altercations with you, I can never enough be aſtoniſh'd at. Her Majeſty, 'tis true, had withdrawn her Confidence and Favour from you; but whatever Motives ſhe had for ſo doing, ſhe had not ventured to give them Utterance; She had never once preſum'd to publiſh a Complaint againſt you; as well-knowing how mightily you were ſupported, and how hard it would be for her to make Head againſt one who in Fact was now and had hitherto been more a S——n than ſhe. What Pretence then could be made for an Attempt to force her to account for her Behaviour, to one ſhe had not even accus'd; or, by a free Declaration of her Thoughts, to involve herſelf in a Controverſy with thoſe who, in ſpite of Truth and Conviction, would have wrangled with her to all Eternity? Your Grace, indeed, may affirm, that all you aim'd at was to clear your ſelf; but for my Part, I rather incline to think you had ſome Hope to confound the Queen firſt, and, afterwards, bring her to anſwer for her

own Conduct, before your dread Tribunal. A Conſciouſneſs of Integrity is Conſolation ſufficient for the Innocent; and if neither Spleen nor Ambition had any Share in this lively Scene, it would ſcarce have been diſturb'd with ſuch a Variety of Paſſions: The Storm would ſcarce have thunder'd ſo loud, or the Showers have fallen ſo laviſhly: But the whole Woman is rouz'd; Firmneſs on one Side creates Frailty on the other. To find the Queen immoveable, argued her invincible: a Diſappointment your Grace could not bear! a Mortification you had never met with before!—— Here, for the firſt Time, we find her Majeſty to be Queen indeed: Had ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be mov'd with the Part you play'd, had ſhe again departed from her Dignity and ſubmitted to parley as an Equal, inſtead of maintaining the Superiority ſhe had ſo long reſigned, farewell Royalty for ever; your Grace had again been Lady-Paramount, and her Majeſty had remain'd a State-Puppet, to move, ſpeak, and act as the Prompter pleas'd, till Death had dropt the Curtain.

What,

What, therefore, Madam, you are pleaſed to call *ſhocking* on this Occaſion, was no other than Self-defence; a reaſonable Mound to keep the Torrent from ſweeping her before it: What you call a Denial of common Juſtice to you, was no other than a Piece of common Juſtice to her ſelf; perhaps the only Inſtance of the Kind to be met with in her whole Reign; and the *Inhumanity* you reproach her with, and denounce *Vengeance* upon her for, but a laudable Reſolution, which every ſenſible Reader is pleas'd to find that Upbraidings could not ſhake, nor Tears melt away.

But then your *Services* —— your *faithful Services* —— Madam, you have made your Readers ſick with the Repetition of that fulſome Word; it occurs in almoſt every Page: Who, therefore, can doubt but that her Majeſty, who had heard it rung in her Ears perpetually for ſo many Years together, muſt, at laſt, be led to conſider it as a Grievance, as well as we? Not, however, till ſhe had diſplay'd the moſt grateful Heart that ever filled a royal Boſom; not till ſhe had almoſt

moſt exhauſted every Source of Bounty belonging to the Crown; not till ſhe had glutted both you and your Family with Rewards; not till ſhe had made you the Envy of theſe Kingdoms, and the Wonder of all others, by contenting her ſelf with the bare Name, and centering in you all the Powers and Privileges of Royalty.

Having, therefore, made ſuch Returns for thoſe boaſted Services, having never once thought of a Reſumption, having put and left you in Poſſeſſion of more Wealth than your Anceſtors, perhaps, could have made an Eſtimate of, where was the mighty Hardſhip of withdrawing her Countenance only, and diſmiſſing you from her Boſom, without fatiguing her ſelf with a painful Detail of Provocations without Number, and Complaints without End?

This however, Madam, is the Sum of your Complaint againſt her Majeſty Queen *Anne*, which you pour forth with great Bitterneſs; but without one Recollection of her unbounded Goodneſs, without one Acknowledgement of the almoſt incredible Harveſt

which

which you reap'd in the Sunshine of her Royal Favour.

But to proceed. It has hitherto been my Endeavour to prove, Madam, that nothing less would serve her Majesty's Dictators than the full and entire Possession of her whole Authority; that whenever she presum'd to exercise the smallest Branch of it herself, she met with nothing but Expostulations, Menaces, and Reprimands: and that, in effect, she became no more than the Shadow of a Sovereign.

What remains, is to shew that, when she manifested a Design to take the Reins of Government into her own Hand, those very Persons on whom she had lavish'd such a Profusion of Favours, entered into a Confederacy with their whole Band of Tools and Implements, to oppose and distress her in every Measure she took: proving themselves alike, insatiable and imperious when in Power, and ungrateful and turbulent when out.

And this is in part, evident even from the Letter Lord *Godolphin*'s, which your Grace has

has inſerted in your Account, by way of Specimen of the *Honeſty of his Heart*, and the *Clearneſs of his Underſtanding*.

'*New-Market April* 15. 1710.

'I have the Honour of your Majeſty's 'Letter of the 13th, by which I have the 'Grief to find that what you are pleaſed to 'call Spleen in my former Letter, was on-'ly a true Impulſe and Conviction of Mind, 'that your Majeſty is ſuffering yourſelf to be 'guided to your own *Ruin* and *Deſtruction* 'as faſt as it is poſſible for them to com-'paſs it, to whom you ſeem ſo much to 'hearken.

'I am not therefore ſo much ſurprized, 'as concerned at the Reſolution, which 'your Majeſty ſays you have taken, of 'bringing in the Duke of *Shrewſbury*. For 'when People began to be ſenſible it would 'be *difficult* to perſuade your Majeſty to 'diſſolve a Parliament, which, for two 'Winters together, had given you above ſix 'Millions a Year for the Support of a WAR, '*upon which your Crown depends*; even 'while that War is ſtill ſubſiſting, they

'have

'have had the Cunning to contrive this 'Propoſal to your Majeſty, which in it's 'Conſequence will certainly put you under 'a *Neceſſity* of *breaking the Parliament*: 'though contrary (I yet believe) to your 'Mind and Intention.

'I beg your Majeſty to be perſuaded, I 'do not ſay this out of the leaſt Prejudice 'to the Duke of *Shrewſbury*. There is no 'Man of whoſe Capacity I have had a bet-'ter Impreſſion; nor with whom I have 'lived more eaſily and freely for above 'twenty Years. Your Majeſty may pleaſe 'to remember, that, at your firſt coming to 'the Crown, I was deſirous he ſhould have 'had one of the *chief Poſts* in your Service; 'and it would have been happy for your 'Majeſty and the Kingdom, if he had *ac-'cepted* that Offer: But he thought fit to '*decline* it, and the Reaſons generally given 'at that Time for his doing ſo, do not much 'recommend him to your Majeſty's Service. 'But I muſt endeavour to let your Majeſty 'ſee Things as they really are. And to bring 'him into your Service and into your Buſi-

' ness at this Time, just after his being in
' a publick, open Conjunction in every Vote
' with the whole Body of the *Tories*, and
' in a private, constant Correspondence
' and Caballing with Mr. *Harley* in every
' Thing, what Consequence can this possi-
' bly have, but to make *every Man* that is
' now in your Cabinet-Council, except

' . . . . . *to run from it as*
' *they would from the* PLAGUE? And I
' leave it to your Majesty to judge, what
' Effect this entire Change of your Ministers
' will have among your Allies abroad, and
' how well this War is like to be car-
' ried on, in their Opinion, by those who
' have all along opposed and obstructed it,
' and who will like any Peace the better,
' the more it leaves *France* at Liberty, to
' take their Time of imposing the *Pretender*
' upon this Country.

' These Considerations must certainly
' make *Holland* run immediately into a
' separate Peace with *France*, and make your
' Majesty lose all the *Honour*, and all the
' *Reputation* your Arms had acquired by

' the

'the War; and make the Kingdom lose all
'the Fruits of that vast Expence which
'they have been at in this War, as well as
'all the Advantage and Safety which they
'had so much Need of, and had so fair a
'Prospect of obtaining by it. And can any
'Body imagine that after so great a Disap-
'pointment to the Kingdom, there will not
'be an ENQUIRY into *the Causes of it*;
'and who have been the *Occasion* of so
'great a Change in your Majesty's Mea-
'sures and Counsels, which had been so
'long successful, and gotten you so great a
'Name in the World? I am very much a-
'fraid your Majesty will find, when it is
'too late, that it will be a *pretty difficult*
'*Task*, for ANY BODY to stand against
'such an *Enquiry*. I am sure if I did
'not think all these Consequences *inevita-*
'*ble*, I would never give your Majesty the
'Trouble and Uneasiness of laying them
'before you. But, perswaded as I am that
'your Majesty will find them so, it is my
'indispensable Duty to do it out of pure
'Faithfulness and Zeal for your Majesty's

'Service and Honour. Your Majeſty's having taken a Reſolution of ſo much Conſequence to all your Affairs both at Home and Abroad, without *acquainting* the Duke of *Marlborough* or *me* with it, till after you had taken it, is the leaſt Part of my Mortification in this whole Affair. Though perhaps the World may think the long and FAITHFUL SERVICES we have conſtantly and zealouſly endeavoured to do your Majeſty, might have *deſerved* a little more *Conſideration*. However for my own Part, I moſt humbly beg Leave to aſſure your Majeſty, I will never give the leaſt Obſtruction to your Meaſures, or to any Miniſters you ſhall pleaſe to employ. And I muſt beg further, to make two humble Requeſts to your Majeſty; the one, that you will allow me to paſs the Remainder of my Life always out of *London*, where I may find moſt Eaſe and Quiet; the other, that you would keep this Letter and read it again about next *Chriſtmas*, and then be pleaſed to make your own

Judgment

'Judgment, who hath given you the beſt
'and moſt faithful Advice,

'*I am, &c.*'

If there is any one Perſon, who is ſo ill a Judge of Happineſs, as to look with Envy on the exalted State of Monarchs, let him read your Grace's Book; let him conſider but the ſlight Sample, therein given, of the ſucceſſive Perſecutions her Majeſty was expoſed to, and he cannot fail to be undeceived: Pity will then take its Turn, and he will thank God, that he was not born to Empire, and the Calamities inſeparable from it.

We have ſeen the State, the Church, and the Army wreſted out of her Majeſty's Hand, as Provinces too unwieldy for her Management; and now, when ſhe aſpires but to be Miſtreſs of her own Family, and to diſpoſe of an Office in her Houſhold, tho' in Favour of one of the firſt and greateſt of her Nobility, ſhe is threaten'd with *Ruin* and *Deſtruction*, the *Parliament* and the *Pretender*, as the infallible Conſequence. —— Yes, Madam, ſhe is again told, that her

Crown depends on the War; and that to make a Lord-Chamberlain, who was not of the *Marlborough-Faction*, would lay her under a Neceſſity to break with her Parliament: —which is as much as to ſay, they would break with her firſt, and oblige her to diſſolve them, whether ſhe would or not. Nay her Counſellors would all *run* from her Cabinet, as from the *Plague*; which would draw down *Enquiries*, &c. that NOBODY could ſtand. ——— Strange Language this from a Subject to his Sovereign, from an honeſt Man, a wiſe Man, and one who would give no Obſtruction to her Majeſty's Meaſures, or Miniſters! Eſpecially as all my Lord *Shrewsbury*'s Sins conſiſted in refuſing Preferment on Terms he did not like, in voting with the Tories, and correſponding with Mr. *Harley*.———This Letter neither needs nor deſerves any farther Comment.

We come now to the grievous BLOW of removing my Lord *Sunderland*, upon which it is fit your Grace ſhould be heard firſt, as follows.

'About the Beginning of *June*, the De-
'ſign of turning out Lord *Sunderland* began
'to

'to be talked of. Lord *Marlborough* was 'now abroad at the Head of the Army.

'As ſoon as the News of this Deſign 'reached him, he wrote a VERY *moving* '*Letter* to the Queen, repreſenting the *very* '*ill Conſequences* it would neceſſarily have 'upon all Affairs abroad, to have his Son-'in-Law, againſt whoſe Fidelity nothing 'could be objected, and in whom the Allies 'had ſo entire a *Confidence*, turned out of her 'Service in the Middle of a Campaign; and 'begging it as a *Reward* of his paſt Services, 'that ſhe would at leaſt delay her Reſolu-'tion till the Campaign was ended. I was 'likewiſe urged by ſome Friends to try to 'ſay ſomething to divert, if poſſible, ſuch a 'STROKE; becauſe it was given out that 'the Queen would do this chiefly on my 'Account, that I might feel the Effects of 'her Diſpleaſure in ſo ſenſible and tender a 'Point. No Conſideration proper to myſelf, 'could have induced me to trouble the Queen 'again, after our laſt Converſation. But I 'was overcome by the Conſideration of Lord '*Marlborough*, Lord *Sunderland*, and the

'PUBLIC INTEREST, and wrote in the beſt
'Manner I could to the Queen, *June* 7,
'1710. begging, for Lord *Marlborough*'s Sake,
'that ſhe would not give him ſuch a BLOW,
'of which I dreaded the *Conſequence*, put-
'ting her in mind of the Letter about the
'Duke upon the Victory at *Blenheim*; and
'adding the moſt ſolemn Aſſurances, that I
'had not ſo much as a Wiſh to remove Mrs.
'*Maſham*, and that all the Noiſe which had
'been about an *Addreſs* for that Purpoſe,
'had been occaſioned by Lord *Marlborough*'s
'*Diſcontents* at that Time, *which moſt People*
'*thought were* JUST. To this the Queen
'wrote a very ſhort and harſh Anſwer, com-
'plaining that I had broke my *Promiſe* of
'not ſaying any Thing of POLITICKS, or
'of Mrs. *Maſham*; and concluding, that it
'was plain from this *ill Uſage* what ſhe was
'to expect for the future.

'I could not forbear, for my own Vindica-
'tion, to write a ſecond Letter, in which I
'aſſured her Majeſty, that I ſhould not have
'troubled her with the firſt, but that I
'heard it reported, that the *Perſecution*, be-
'gun

'gun againſt Lord *Marlborough* and his Fa-
'mily, was chiefly occaſioned by her Ma-
'jeſty's Diſpleaſure and Averſion to me, as
'having promoted an Addreſs againſt Mrs.
'*Maſham*; that it was only to vindicate my-
'ſelf from that Aſperſion, that I had pre-
'ſumed to trouble her; that I could not ima-
'gine it could be interpreted as an Offence,
'to vindicate myſelf from what was now
'made the Pretence for turning out Lord
'*Sunderland*, and puſhing Lord *Marlbo-*
'*rough* to *Extremities*; that I had no Rea-
'ſon to think, that the aſſuring her Majeſty,
'that I would never have any Hand in any
'Thing againſt Mrs. *Maſham*, could have
'been conſtrued as an ungrateful ſpeaking a-
'bout her, or called a Continuation of ill
'Uſage; that I thought this was rather a
'complying with her Majeſty's Inclination,
'and ſaying what ſhe could not but approve;
'that all the Politicks in my Letter was my
'Concern for Lord *Marlborough*; making it
'at laſt my moſt earneſt Requeſt, that her
'Majeſty would only defer the BLOW till
'the End of the Campaign. This, I added,

'I begged upon my Knees, and left her Ma-'jesty to judge whether, after such an *Expres-'sion*, it was *likely* that I should ever enter into 'any Thing that could *displease* her.

'Whether my interfering in this Matter 'hastened the Execution of the Design, I 'cannot say. Certain it is that it did not re-'tard it, for Lord *Sunderland* was presently 'after dismissed from his Office. On which 'Occasion several great Men, *who wished 'well to their Country*, and who feared that 'my Lord *Marlborough* might in Disgust 'quit the Service, immediately wrote him a 'joint Letter, which I shall here insert, in 'Honour both of them and of the Duke.

June 14, 1710.

My Lord,

'We should not have given your Grace 'the Trouble of this joint Letter, but for 'the great Concern and Uneasiness in which 'we find you, on Account of my Lord *Sun-'derland*, by your Letter of the 20th to my 'Lord Treasurer, which *he has communi-'cated to us*. That Letter, as *moving*, and

as

'as reaſonable as it was, has not hindered the
'Seals from being taken this Morning from
'my Lord *Sunderland*. No Wonder then if
'the utmoſt Endeavours which could be
'uſed to prevent it, and the ſtrong Argu-
'ments which have been made of the *ill*
'*Conſequences*, that muſt attend ſuch Steps
'both *at Home* and Abroad have met with ſo
'little Succeſs. We find ourſelves ſo much
'afflicted with this Misfortune, that we can-
'not but be extremely ſenſible of the great
'*Mortification* this muſt give you at this cri-
'tical Juncture, when you are every Moment
'hazarding your Life in the Service of your
'Country, and whilſt the Fate of *Europe*
'depends in ſo great a Degree on your Con-
'duct and good Succeſs: But we are alſo as
'fully convinced that it is impoſſible for your
'Grace to quit the Service at this Time,
'without the utmoſt Hazard to the whole
'Alliance. And we muſt therefore conjure
'you by the Glory you have already obtain-
'ed, by the many Services you have done
'your Queen and Country, by the Expecta-
'tion you have juſtly raiſed in all *Europe*, and

'by all that is dear and tender to you at 'Home, whoſe chief Dependence is upon 'your Succeſs, that you would not leave this 'great Work unfiniſhed, but continue at 'the Head of the Army. This we look 'upon as the moſt neceſſary Step that 'can be taken to prevent the *Diſſolution* 'of this *Parliament*. Your Grace's Com-'pliance with this our earneſt Requeſt would 'be the greateſt Obligation to us, and all *that* '*wiſh well to our Country*. And you may 'depend upon it, that the contrary will be the 'greateſt Satisfaction to your Enemies. We 'are, my Lord, your Grace's moſt humble 'and obedient Servants,

'COWPER C.
'GODOLPHIN.
'SOMERS.
'NEWCASTLE.
'DEVONSHIRE.
'ORFORD.
'HALLIFAX.
'H. BOYLE.

Nothing

Nothing is thought trifling which regards the Great; the Public is therefore particularly oblig'd to your Grace for the Light you have occaſionally condeſcended to give them, on the different Manners in which both you and your two noble Co-adjutors addreſs'd the Throne: Thus it appears that you, Madam, following the natural Bent of your Genius, aſſum'd the *Notable*, that the Treaſurer employ'd the *Authoritative*, and that the Duke deſcended to the *Moving* or *Pathetic*.

A *moving Letter* was wrote by his Grace, to procure Doctor *Potter* his Profeſſorſhip; and now another VERY *moving Letter* is diſpatch'd in Behalf of Lord *Sunderland*; that very Lord *Sunderland*, who had forc'd his Way into the Adminiſtration at the Head of the Whigs, who had by the ſame Strength, been the principal Agent to force Mr. *Harley* out, who had ſince enter'd into a League with the *Jacobites*, and undertook to ruin the very *Faction* who had admitted him into Power; and to whom he was ſo nearly ally'd.

But all his Tranſgreſſions were now done away,

away, and not only the Miniſters, but the Allies plac'd an *entire Confidence* in him; and, therefore, terrible *Conſequences* were to be expected in caſe the Queen ſhou'd reſolve to diſplace him till the Campaign was over.

Nor was this only the Language of the Duke's VERY *moving Letter*; but the common Cant of all the State-Uſurers and Money-Jobbers of thoſe Times; who having ſtak'd their idoliz'd Mammon on the Credit and Power of the Adminiſtration, were eaſily induc'd to echo whatever they were taught: as that our All depended on their Continuance at the Helm, and that the diſplacing any one of their Cabal would unhinge the whole Confederacy: Forgetting that, when Lord *Sunderland* enter'd into the above-mentioned League with the *Jacobites*, one of their firſt Preliminaries was to ſet aſide both the General and the Treaſurer; which they then imagined might be done without the leaſt Detriment to the War, or giving any great Umbrage to any one Power concerned in it. Nay, the Queen had received Intelligence that they even went ſo far, as to ſound the

Dutch

Dutch on the intended Change; both to diſcover their Sentiments thereon, and to prepare them to receive the News without Surprize, Diſmay, or Uneaſineſs: In order to which the Hints of this Embryo-Project were accompany'd with the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, that the War ſhould be carry'd on with as much Vigour, and the Intereſts of the Republic as effectually ſupported as before.

How, therefore, it can be ſaid that the looſening any one Joint of the *Marlborough-Faction* would be fatal to the Confederacy, and yet that this noble Lord, had in no Reſpect, miſbehaved, I am utterly at a Loſs to account: And ſo much the more, as he ſtood charg'd with ſetting on foot the Addreſs to remove Mrs. *Maſham*, and yet not one of his Advocates ever attempted to prove him innocent.

Upon the whole, Madam, from the Facts and *Reaſonings* here laid down, it is obvious to the meaneſt Capacity, that her Majeſty had very ſufficient Reaſons for diſcarding Lord *Sunderland*; and that ſince the ſame General,

General, and the ſame Troops, with the ſame full Powers were continued in *Flanders*, the Operations of the Campaign neither could nor were any ways affected by it.

But your Grace was prevail'd upon to apply to the Queen once more on this affecting Occaſion—I am glad you was, with all my Heart; ſince it gave her Majeſty a fitting Opportunity to let you know that your Tyranny in *Politics* was the *ill Uſage* ſhe could not bear; and ſince it brought you to beg a *Favour* as upon your Knees, which you give us to underſtand was a Condeſcenſion you had never ſubmitted to before.

And as to the humble Petition of the ſeven great Lords, and the Secretary of State to the Duke of *Marlborough*; beſeeching his Grace not to deprive the Confederate-Army of his almighty Protection, it ſeems only to prove more undeniably what has been already advanced; *viz.* That the Influence of the *Marlborough-Family* was grown ſo formidably extenſive, that it was become alike dangerous, either to connive at its Continuance,

ance, or to endeavour to reduce it within proper Bounds.

Your Grace proceeds to ſet down in your Account, that, after Lord *Sunderland* was diſmiſs'd, and Lord *Dartmouth* was promoted in his Stead, her Majeſty caus'd Mr. Secretary *Boyle* to ſignify to the Foreign Courts, that ſhe ſhould make no farther Changes in her Adminiſtration, *&c.* and yet, that, in leſs than two Months, ſhe removed Lord *Godolphin* likewiſe. I ſay, your Grace ſets down theſe Articles with all the Aggravations in your Power, but make no mention of the perpetual ill Humour of that noble Lord from the Time of the Diſgrace of Lord *Sunderland*; or his utter Refuſal to come into any Compromiſe to render the Queen's Affairs more eaſy for the future; or of the Cabals, from that Time, forming to oblige her Majeſty to make uſe of the ſame Set *entire*, and none but the ſame Set again.

By way of Supplement then, to this Account of your Grace, be known, that, in the Evening of the very Day in which the

Earl

Earl of *Godolphin* was relieved from the Fatigues of Government, a general Aſſembly of the *Marlborough-Faction* was held at Mr. Secretary *Boyle*'s, in which the following Concluſions were agreed upon. *Viz.*

I. That the new Managers would ſink under the Weight of their own Deſigns.

II. That it would be impoſſible for them to ſupport the public Credit, or find Ways and Means to carry on the War.

III. That, hereby, they muſt unavoidably plunge the Queen into ſuch inextricable Difficulties, as would force her to throw her Affairs, more abſolutely than ever, into the Hands of her old Miniſters.

IV. And that, conſequently, it was their Buſineſs to ſtand aloof, nor come into any of her Meaſures, till her Diſtreſſes obliged her to have Recourſe to their Services upon their own Terms.

Be it known, likewiſe, that, even before theſe notable Reſolutions were made, the *Dutch* had been prevailed upon to order their Miniſter in *London* to intercede with her Majeſty, not to make any Changes in her

own Miniſtry, and to remonſtrate the Miſchiefs they apprehended would be the Conſequence. And be it farther known, that the ſame noble Perſonages had the Modeſty to ſpirit up even the Governor and Director of the *Bank* of *England*, to requeſt certain great Lords to repreſent to her Majeſty, that the Apprehenſions of a Change in the Miniſtry had mightily diſturb'd the trading People of the City, ſhock'd Credit, and they fear'd, if a Stop were not put to it, would cauſe a Run upon the Bank, and diſable them from ſerving the Government.

Thus it appears, Madam, that the Neceſſity her Majeſty was reduced to, and which you affect to lament ſo pathetically, was not brought upon her by the new Managers, but the old. And this will appear evident beyond all Contradiction, when it is known, Laſtly, that theſe high and mighty Diſpoſers of all Things had ſtill a *Corps de Reſerve*, with which they made no Queſtion to rout their Adverſaries, and carry the Day.

Your Grace will eaſily conceive, that I mean the Parliament. A Parliament they called

they called their own, and which, they publicly made their Boaſts, would unravel all the Queen had done, and ſet a *Ne plus ultra* to the Projects of her new Miniſters.

Thus, Madam, we find theſe honeſt Men, theſe public-ſpirited Patriots, theſe grateful Servants forming themſelves into a deſperate Faction, to create the very Evils they beforehand deſigned to complain of: and it is to this Root, that all the Grievances of the Reſidue of this Reign are principally to be aſcribed.

For had not this Faction been form'd, or had they not afterwards rejected the Queen's Offers of an Accommodation, nothing is more true than that the reſtoring of the Government to it's antient Balance, had been the moſt material Conſequence of the Change.

As it was, they compell'd the new Miniſters to build their Strength on a different Bottom, to diſſolve a Parliament that were more attached to the Intereſts of the *Marlborough*-Family, than to the Repoſe of their Sovereign, or the Welfare of the Public; and

they ſoon ſaw, with Aſtoniſhment, Mr. *Harley*, the Man they had refuſed to aſſociate with in Council, and had ſet aſide with ſuch peculiar Circumſtances of Contempt, not only at the Head of the Nation, but defeating all the Oppoſition they could raiſe; maintaining public Credit, making good the Supplies, and even providing parliamentary Security for Debts, amounting to an immenſe Sum, contracted by and due to his Enemies, which any other Miniſter, in his Circumſtances, would have paid with a Spunge.

As to the Character your Grace has thought proper to inſert of this great Man, the Venom of it is all taken out by your frank Acknowledgment, that it was drawn by a FRIEND of yours: ſince we are thereby aſſur'd that the Copy is not faithful to the Life, but warp'd and falſify'd to flatter the Malignity of the *Purchaſer*.

Nothing is more eaſy, Madam, than to make Repriſals; but I chuſe, for the preſent at leaſt, to avoid ſo invidious a Taſk. Our Characters are moſt diſcernable in our Acti-

ons, and that which has the leaſt of *Self* in it, is the beſt. My Ld. *Oxford*, after he had been Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*, became a Penſioner to his own Son: Whereas, ſo late as in the Year 1740, no leſs than 200,000*l.* of the *Marlborough-Acquiſitions* lay in *Chancery* wholly unappropriated: In few Words, my Lord *Oxford*, tho' a *Briton*, valued Gold as little as a *Spartan*, when *Lycurgus* had by a Law render'd it uſeleſs: He was equal to his Dignities; he was ſuperior to his Misfortunes.

To haſten to a Concluſion: The diſplacing Lord *Godolphin* was follow'd by a total Change of his whole *Poſſe*; on which Occaſion even Biſhop *Burnet* expreſſes himſelf as follows. 'The Queen was much delighted 'with all theſe Changes, and ſeemed to 'think ſhe was *freed* from the *Chains* the 'old Miniſtry *held her in*. She ſpoke of it 'to ſeveral Perſons as a CAPTIVITY *ſhe* '*had long been under*.'

As to the Military Feats of the Year 1710, they were far from balancing the Expence both of Blood and Treaſure they had put us

to;

to; or curing us of our Regret, that no better Uſe had been made of the Conferences at *Gertruydenbergh*: the taking of *Douay*, *Bethune*, St. *Venant*, and *Aire*, comprehending the whole of our *Flemiſh* Conqueſts during this Campaign: And yet *another Year* having elaps'd without affording the Dove of Peace a Reſting-Place for the Soal of her Foot.

In *Spain*, the War was carried on with great Variety of Succeſs. One Engagement happen'd at *Alemanara*, in which the Allies had the Advantage; and General *Stanhope*, who commanded the Horſe, acquir'd great Reputation. The Battle of *Saragoſſa* followed this, in which the Enemy's Infantry were totally routed, and the Allies were again victorious: but, toward the Cloſe of the Campaign, the Confederate Army, notwithſtanding theſe Advantages, being obliged to retire to *Arragon*, in order to have the Benefit of their Magazines, General *Stanhope* with eight Battalions and eight Squadrons, having detach'd themſelves, for the Convenience of ſupplying themſelves with Proviſions, from

the main Army, were ſurrounded by King *Philip*'s Forces in a Place called *Brihuega*; and, after a long and obſtinate Defence, till their Amunition was entirely conſum'd, were obliged to ſurrender themſelves Priſoners of War: *Staremberg*, indeed, marched to their Relief; but came too late: He nevertheleſs gave Battle to K. *Philip*, tho' ſuperior to him in number three to one, defeated him, killed 6000 of his Troops, made himſelf Maſter of his Artillery, and continued on the Field of Battle a whole Day.

A Diverſion was likewiſe attempted this Year by a Deſcent on the Coaſt of *Languedoc*; but the Project was ſo miſerably put in Execution, that 400 Dragoons, and 2000 Militia render'd it abortive.

With Regard to our domeſtic Affairs; the new Miniſtry, having been threatned with the Parliament in Being, had both the Courage to diſſolve it, and the Addreſs to procure a new one, better diſpoſed to come into the Meaſures of the Court.

Believe me, Madam, I do not mention this as Matter of Triumph; for I have

ever

ever thought it one of the greateſt Miſchiefs attendant upon our Conſtitution, that Parliaments were ſo much in the Power of the Crown: Nor can I take upon me to prove that Tory-Returns, or the Means employed to render them valid, favour'd much more of Equity than thoſe before made and juſtified by the Whigs.

To ſay the Truth; in the Matter of Elections, both Parties have been, for the general, culpable alike: and the great Struggle ſeems to have been, which ſhould have the moſt Sins of this Kind to anſwer for: Zeal for a Faction, having abſorb'd almoſt all we had to boaſt of Patriotiſm and public Spirit, but the Names!

Yet even this Tory-Parliament, however ſaid to be unfairly pack'd and modelled, or however eager to ſee a Period put to the War, did not, either by Addreſſes or Remonſtrances, endeavour to puſh the Queen, precipitately, on a Peace; or, by withholding, or delaying the Supplies, diſable her from acting in Conjunction with her Allies, as vigorouſly as ever: On the contrary, they granted 10,000 addi-

tional Troops, a Land-Tax of 4 *s.* in the Pound, and three Millions and a Half by Way of Lottery.

Nor did Mr. *Harley*, whatever particular Reaſons he had to ſhew as little Regard to the General now, as the General had to him while Secretary, ſuffer his private Reſentments to mingle with the Concerns of the Public: Notwithſtanding, therefore, the Duke ſtill refuſed to come to Council as long as Mr. *Harley* had a Seat there, he was continued in his Command, till it was found, by Experience, that the Breach was never to be made up.

But, tho' he continued to ſerve, and it is pleaded as a great Merit in him that he did, your Grace's high Spirit would not ſuffer you to do the ſame, when you found, by repeated Trials, that the Queen was determin'd to put on the Yoke no more: At the End of a *very ſucceſsful Campaign*, therefore, you tell us, you commiſſioned the Duke to carry a Surrender of your Places; and the Queen *readily* accepted them: A Circumſtance, Madam, which you mention

in

in ſuch a Manner, as ſeems to argue, ſome Surprize that ſhe did ſo.

Your Grace proceeds thus.

'The Duke of *Marlborough*, notwith-
'ſtanding an infinite Variety of *Mortifica-*
'*tions*, by which it was endeavour'd to make
'him reſign his Commiſſion, (that there
'might be a Pretence to raiſe an Outcry a-
'gainſt him, as having quitted his Queen's
'and his Country's Service, meerly becauſe
'he could not govern in the Cabinet, as
'well as in the Field) continued to ſerve yet
'another Campaign. All his Friends here
'(moved by a true Concern for the public
'Welfare) preſſed him to it, the Confede-
'rates called him with the utmoſt Importu-
'nity, and Prince *Eugene* intreated him to
'come with all the Earneſtneſs and Paſſion
'that could be expreſſed. He went; but
'his *Authority* was now *diminiſhed*, and his
'Forces *weaken'd*, many of his beſt Regi-
'ments being drawn off, ſome to go moul-
'der away in *Spain*, and others to be ſacri-
'ficed in the wild Expedition to *Quebec*.
'On the other Hand the *French* had regain'd

'a Spirit by the Proceedings of their Friends 'here; and they ſeemed to think themſelves 'ſecure now of bringing Diſgrace upon a Ge- 'neral, who had ſo often humbled *them*, and 'whoſe very Name had been among them 'for many Years a Sound of Terror. His 'maſterly Conduct, and his ſurpriſing Suc- 'ceſs, diſappointed the Hopes both of our fo- 'reign and domeſtick Enemies.'

'Tis Pity, Madam, you have not ſpecified the *Mortifications* (that Favourite-Phraſe of the *Marlborough-Family*) which you ſeem to urge the Duke was *purpoſely* made to undergo: For, according to the beſt Lights I have been able to procure, Mr. *Harley*, who was ſuppoſed to be now the *Firſt Mover*, treated him with a Diſtinction, a Delicacy, and a Complaiſance, which left his Grace perſonally not the leaſt Opportunity to complain.

That his *Authority* was *diminiſhed*, requires likewiſe ſomewhat more than a bare Aſſertion to make evident; for, unleſs the Alterations which had been made in the Cabinet, or the Loſs of your Grace's Empire had diminiſhed his *Authority*, I know of nothing

'elſe

elſe that could: The Duke appearing to be as much a Plenipo as ever, at the Head of the Army.

And as to his Forces being *weakened*; only *Five Thouſand* Men were draughted off for the Expedition to *Quebec*; except a Detachment made by Prince *Eugene* for the Service on the *Rhine*, ſhould be thrown into the Account; and for that, it cannot be pretended the new Miniſter was anſwerable.

That, nevertheleſs, his Grace perform'd a Maſter-piece in the Art-military, in paſſing the *French* Lines in the Neighbourhood of *Bouchain*, called by the Marſhal *Villars*, who commanded there, *The Duke's* NE PLUS ULTRA, without the Loſs of a Man, I am proud to acknowledge: and that he afterwards carried *Bouchain* itſelf, tho' almoſt unapproachable, in Sight of an Army ſuperiour to his own, I muſt likewiſe acknowledge, was alone ſufficient to render his Glory immortal.

But then, Madam, what Equivalent were theſe ſplendid Miracles for exhauſting the Life-Blood of the Nation, all we could raiſe,

and all we could borrow? What Advance did even this *one Year more* of *maſterly Conduct* make towards reducing the Enemy? What peculiar Advantages reſulted to *Britain* from thoſe boaſted Triumphs? And how much nearer was the Proſpect of Peace from the Walls of *Bouchain*, than from thoſe of *Aire*, which ended the Operations of the preceding Campaign?

In the Field, the Duke of *Marlborough* was, beyond all Contradiction, one of the greateſt of Men; his Exploits have both enriched and adorned our Annals; and whenever the *Britiſh* military Glory ſhall be celebrated, by future Times, his Name will be enrolled among thoſe Heroes who have enlarged it moſt. —— But, accompliſhed and meritorious as he was, three Kingdoms were rather too rich a Victim to be ſacrificed, that his Triumphs might be rendered complete.

I will not enter into the Controverſy, whether the great Preſents received by his Grace from *Medina* the *Jew*, on Account of the Bread-Contracts, or the Two and a Half per *Cent*, deducted from the Pay of the Foreign Troops

Troops in the *British* Service, were really Perquiſites or Breaches of Truſt; or whether in any Light they authoriz'd the Removal of ſo fortunate and illuſtrious a General: But this is certain; The Duke's untractable Behaviour on the Diſgrace of his Friends contributed *as much* to that great Event, as the Violence of his Adverſaries: And it is as certain, likewiſe, that Faction was equally predominant on both Sides.

Her Majeſty, however, thought proper to diſarm him of his Greatneſs, by a Letter under her own Hand; to which, it ſeems, his Grace return'd the following Anſwer.

'MADAM,

'I am very ſenſible of the Honour your 'Majeſty does me in diſmiſſing me from 'your Service by a Letter of your own 'Hand, tho' I find by it that my Ene'mies have been able to prevail with your 'Majeſty to do it in the *Manner* that is moſt 'injurious to me. And if their Malice and 'Inveteracy againſt me had not been more 'powerful with them than the Conſideration 'of your Majeſty's Honour and Juſtice, they

'would

'would not have influenced you to impute
'the Occaſion of my Diſmiſſion to a falſe
'and malicious Inſinuation contrived by
'themſelves, and made public, when there
'was no Opportunity for me to give in my
'Anſwer; which, they muſt needs be con-
'ſcious, would fully detect the Falſhood and
'Malice of their Aſperſions, and not leave
'them that Handle for bringing your Ma-
'jeſty to ſuch Extremities againſt me.

'But I am much more concerned at an
'Expreſſion in your Majeſty's Letter, which
'ſeems to complain of the TREATMENT
'you had met with. I know not how to
'underſtand that Word, nor what Conſtruc-
'tion to make of it. I know I have always
'endeavoured to ſerve your Majeſty faithful-
'ly and zealouſly, through a great many *un-*
'*deſerved Mortifications*. But if your Ma-
'jeſty does intend by that Expreſſion to find
'Fault with my not coming to the Cabinet-
'Council, I am very free to acknowledge that
'my Duty to your Majeſty and Country would
'not give me Leave to join in the Council
'of a Man, who, in my Opinion, puts your

'Majeſty

'Majeſty upon all Manner of Extremities. 'And it is not my Opinion only, but the 'Opinion of all Mankind, *that the Friend-'ſhip of* France *muſt needs be deſtructive to 'your Majeſty: There being in that Court a 'Root of Enmity irreconcilable to your Ma-'jeſty's Government, and the* Religion *of 'theſe Kingdoms.* I wiſh your Majeſty may 'never *find the Want* of ſo faithful a Servant, 'as I have always endeavoured to approve 'myſelf to you. I am with the greateſt Du-'ty and Submiſſion,

'MADAM,

'*Your Majeſty's*

'*moſt Dutiful and*

'*obedient Subject,*

MARLBOROUGH.

I have more than once had Occaſion to obſerve, that your Grace has not given us the whole Evidence; and certainly the omitting the Queen's Letter on this remarkable Occaſion, will admit of no Excuſe: Tho' the Duke affects not to underſtand what her Majeſty means by complaining of the *Treat-*

ment

ment ſhe had received, I am apt to believe her own Words would have explain'd themſelves; and even the moſt partial Reader muſt have concluded, upon the Whole, that, with Reſpect to her own particular Quarrel, ſhe had done nothing but what was right.

Thus, Madam, I have taken the Liberty to follow you, from a giddy, thoughtleſs Life of Cards and Amuſements, which it ſeems was your Grace's firſt Out-ſet, along the crooked Paths of Policy and Intrigue; up the ſteep Aſcent of Ambition, down the dirty By-ways of Reproach and Inveteracy, and thro' the perplexed Mazes of Altercation and Controverſy, and have left you, tho' deprived of Power, yet in quiet Poſſeſſion of Wealth almoſt ineſtimable, the ſuper-abundant Harveſt which you had ſafely hous'd, during the long Continuance of Court-ſhine; and at leiſure to accumulate on one Hand, in conſequence of thoſe pernicious Meaſures, which you did yourſelf the Honour to oppoſe on the other.

With Regard to your Grace's third Section, which contains merely an Attempt to purge

your self from personal Calumnies, I shall leave it, in a Manner, as I found it; in factious Times, to bely one Side is held meritorious by the other; no Weight, therefore, is to be plac'd on such interested Evidence, and I will not urge one Particular of a Thousand, against the solemn Asseveration you are pleas'd to make of your own Innocence.

But there is, however, something so extraordinary in the following Passage, that I cannot resist the inserting it entire; tho' 'tis more than possible the Public may think I have rather been too profuse of my Quotations already.

'These were the * only Grants I ever had 'from the Queen, except one, which occa-'sioned the † witty Comparison that was 'made between me and the Lady's Wo-'man, who out of her Mistress's Pin-'Money of 26 *l.* put twenty two into her 'own Pocket. The Matter was this. At 'the Queen's Accession to the Government,

* Five thousand Pounds apiece by way of Portion to each of her Grace's four Daughters; the Rangership of *Windsor*-Park, and the Ground in St. *James*'s-Park, upon which *Marlborough*-House now stands.

† See *Examiner*.

the

ſhe uſed to lament to me, that the Crown being impoveriſhed by former Grants, ſhe wanted the Power her Predeceſſors had enjoyed to reward faithful Servants; and ſhe deſired me to take out of the Privy-Purſe 2000 *l.* a Year, in Order to ſome Purchaſe for my Advantage. I made my grateful Acknowledgments to her Majeſty, but at the ſame Time ſaid, that as her Majeſty was ſo good to provide for my Children, and as the Offices I enjoy'd by her Favour brought me in *more* than I *wanted*, I could not think it reaſonable to accept her Offer; and I abſolutely *refuſed* it. The Queen ſome time after, in two ſeveral Letters, preſſed me to receive this Bounty, and ſhe frequently did the ſame by Word of Mouth. Nevertheleſs I conſtantly declined it; until the Time, that, notwithſtanding the uncommon Regard I had ſhown to her Majeſty's Intereſt and Honour in the Execution of my Truſts, ſhe was pleaſed to † *diſmiſs* me from her

† Her Grace ſeems to have forgot that ſhe diſmiſs'd herſelf.

Service.

'Service. Then indeed it was thought I 'had no longer the ſame Reaſon to be '*ſcrupulous* on this Head. By the Advice 'of my *Friends*, I ſent the Queen one of 'her own Letters, in which ſhe had preſſed 'me to take the 2000 *l.* a Year; and I 'wrote at the ſame Time to aſk her Ma-'jeſty, whether ſhe would allow me to 'charge in the Privy-Purſe Accounts, which 'I was to ſend her, that yearly Sum from 'the Time of the Offer, amounting to ‡ '18,000 *l.* Her Majeſty was pleaſed to an-'ſwer, THAT I MIGHT CHARGE IT.

What a Contraſt of Diſpoſition here breaks forth? What Magnanimity appears on one Side? what **** and **** on the other?

I have juſt obſerved that *our* Characters are moſt diſcernable in our Actions; there is

‡ This puts me in mind of a ſimilar Story told of Dr. *Ratcliff*, who, attending one of his Intimates in a dangerous Sickneſs, with an unuſual Strain of Generoſity, declared he would not touch a Fee. One inſiſted; the other was poſitive: But when the Cure was perform'd, and the Doctor taking his Leave, quoth the Patient, Sir, *In this Purſe I have put every Day's Fee; nor muſt your Goodneſs get the better of my Gratitude.* The Doctor eyes the Purſe, counts the Days in a Moment, and then, holding out his Hand, replies——*Well, I can hold out no longer*——*Singly I could have refus'd them for a Twelvemonth — But all together they are irreſiſtable.*

no need, therefore, for any *Friend* of Mr. *Harley*'s to take the like Trouble with your Grace's, which your *Friend* has beſtow'd on his: One half of your Portrait, as drawn by your own inimitable Hand, is already diſplay'd above; and the other half may perhaps be ſupply'd from another Fact which follows below.

One of the few *French* Noblemen, whoſe Curioſity leads them to viſit *Great Britain*, thought himſelf oblig'd, among the Remarkables of the Iſland, to pay a Viſit to your Grace; on which Occaſion, to be exceedingly polite, he kept up the Spirit of the Converſation, with a florid Detail of the Wonders perform'd by the Duke of *Marlborough*; to which your Grace ſeem'd to liſten at firſt with a very ſenſible Pleaſure; but apprehending, as he went on, that his Eloquence was like to be *confin'd to the Duke only*, the Spirit which had ever poſſeſs'd you could not help burſting out—— *All this is true, Sir: But you forget that all this and much more is owing to* me.

As Ingratitude, Ingratitude, Ingratitude, Madam, is the Sum Total of your Account, I ſhall take my Leave of your Grace with the Two celebrated Bills of *Roman Gratitude*, and

Britiſh

British Ingratitude many Years ago drawn up in the *Examiner*, for the Use of the *Marlborough* Family, by one of the greatest Wits that ever did Honour to human Nature.

A Bill of ROMAN *Gratitude.*

Imprim.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
For Frankincense and Earthen Pots to burn it in	4	10	0
A Bull for Sacrifice	8	0	0
An Embroidered Garment	50	0	0
A Crown of Lawrel	0	0	2
A Statue	100	0	0
A Trophy	80	0	0
1000 Copper Medals, value half-pence a piece	2	1	8
A Triumphal Arch	500	0	0
A Triumphal Car, valued as a Modern Coach	100	0	0
Casual Charges at the Triumph	150	0	0
	994	11	10

A Bill of BRITISH *Ingratitude.*

Imprim.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Woodstock	40000	0	0
Blenheim	200000	0	0
Post-Office Grant	100000	0	0
Mildenheim	30000	0	0
Pictures, Jewels, *&c.* — *Pall-mall*	60000	0	0
Grant, the *W.* Rangership, *&c.*	10000	0	0
Employments	100000	0	0
	540000	0	0

I am, may it please your Grace,

your Grace's most humble Servant,

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FINIS.